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All submissions should reflect sustained intellectual engagement in any of Lehigh's many fields of study. We are especially interested in essays that draw from the content or methodology of more than one discipline. *The Review* expects students to submit well-researched and well-written works that exceed a mere synthesis of existing sources. *The Review* publishes submissions which demonstrate imagination, original insight and a mastery of the subject.

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

I am excited to present the 2010 volume of *The Lehigh Review: Changing Perceptions* to our readers. Putting it together was both a challenge and a joy, and with the help of a hardworking staff, supportive faculty members, and the authors themselves, I believe we've created a truly unique edition of the journal.

Our goal was to integrate both traditional and new elements into *The Review* by adhering to its time-honored mission of highlighting some of the best academic work by Lehigh undergraduates while also incorporating original ideas for its design, creative direction, and identity as our university's scholarly journal. We came up with the title "Changing Perceptions" as we were selecting our final essays, realizing that this theme surfaced in all of the pieces we had chosen. Not only does it apply to the works themselves, but it also fits our overall aim to change the way the journal is perceived on campus. Through the choices we've made with the essays, artwork, and layout, we hope to give *The Review* a greater level of accessibility and relevance within the Lehigh community.

In the following collection of essays, the idea of changing perceptions can be seen in the transformation of awareness the authors bring to their topics through careful intellectual study and detailed analysis, as well as in their capacity to motivate us to see the world around us in a new light. I hope that you enjoy reading this year's journal, and that as you read you discover your own perceptions changing.

Lisa Cocchia Editor in Chief



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Metaphor and Science

By Alexander Haitos and Deborah A.Z. Streahle

In the past thirty years, philosophers of science, philosophers of language, and cognitive scientists have emphasized the importance of understanding metaphor, although they rarely agree on the role it plays in thought. One dominant theory of metaphor treats metaphor as abbreviated simile. However, this theory does not acknowledge the embodied nature of metaphor, nor does it acknowledge that a metaphor has individual and influential meanings beyond the literal meanings of its constituents. In this essay, we explore this critique and discuss its relevance for understanding new concept formation.

he use of elaborate analogy, thought-experiment, and other metaphor-like tools in philosophy of mind is intriguing. In the past thirty years, philosophers of science, philosophers of language, and cognitive scientists have emphasized the importance of understanding metaphor, although they rarely agree on the role it plays in thought. In our research we found multiple theories of metaphor formation and meaning modification. This essay is an exploration of the status of metaphors, particularly in science: what they are, how they work, what they tell us about science. In the following sections, we will concentrate on providing a general explanation of metaphors by drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's model. Then we will confront the problems with the "metaphor as abbreviated simile" theory and conclude that the most informative theory of metaphor will acknowledge that metaphors are capable of modifying meaning.

Regardless of position, there are a few features of metaphor that theorists agree on. First, metaphors play a deviant role in language: "In the utterance of a fresh metaphor the speaker explicitly violates the conventional expectations of the community." The words or phrases used in a metaphor are employed outside of their literal use. Secondly, metaphors are about "applying information and understandings from one domain of experience, which we call the *source domain*, to enhance understanding of another domain called the *target domain*, that is typically more abstract." Whether or not meaning is transferred across domains is a point of contention in theories of metaphor. In the following sections, we will argue that a shift in meaning is a more plausible theory, given the apparent role of metaphor in science.

Metaphors are used widely in science to facilitate both communication and conceptual understanding amongst scientists and to the non-scientific public. From ancient models of the atom, to the concept of protein folding and global warming, scientists rely on complex metaphors to further their research and understanding.³ Metaphors are not used merely for convenience, but out of necessity. It is important to acknowledge the significant role of metaphor in scientific thought because of the impact it has on thought in general. There are cases in which scientists can only express new concepts, even to themselves, by way of metaphor. For example,

when William Harvey proposed a solution to the mystery of how such a high volume of blood was pumped by the heart, he compared (what we now know as) the circulatory system to a circle.⁴ That is, the metaphor of blood circulation as a circle helped clarify and modify important concepts in physiology, and directly contributed to the process of developing a coherent explanatory concept (the term "circulatory system" is now ubiquitous).

This shows that the meanings of metaphors are understood apart from the literal meanings of any of the words in them. The circulatory system is not literally a circle and a system; the metaphor conveys more than this. The metaphor is useful precisely because it does not simply refer to the exact meaning of the literal words. Instead, by highlighting possible relevant aspects of the source domain, it introduces a new way of understanding the target domain, which otherwise would have remained obscure. This is directly contrary to the positivist idea is that "all scientific descriptions are purely literal" and concurs with the idea of a general degradation of the distinction between literal and metaphorical meaning.⁵ As shown in the example, by altering existing concepts and adding depth of meaning to new concepts, metaphors can

(and do) help the conceptual problem-solving process of scientists. Scientists use metaphors to *interpret* data and new phenomena. "In themselves the data tell us nothing; only through the agency of models and theories can we convert raw observational data into something that makes sense." In order to interpret new information, we draw on "deeply ingrained bodily and social experiences that already form the framework for dealing with life on a day-to-day basis." In the above example, William Harvey drew on his knowledge of circles and systems and applied them to the body.

These bodily and social experiences are formed early in life from sensorimotor interactions with the world (things we experience through our bodies) and subjective experiences and judgments (emotions and beliefs). The associations we form between these types of experiences form what are known as "primary metaphors." An example of a primary metaphor is "Affection is Warmth." This arises from the conflation of the sensorimotor experience of warmth, and a subjective judgment of affection. An infant conflates

formation about the more complex metaphor. We can use this complex metaphor as a model for understanding elements of relationships: How fast are the travelers going? Where are they going? Where are they stopping along the way? What else do they have planned? There are numerous ways complex metaphors inform our understanding of the world.

Primary metaphors make up a large degree of our language; they are difficult to separate from speech because they are integrated into the structure of everyday experience. From infancy we create associations grounded in physical and subjective experience that frame our experience in the world. We anchor our understanding in the metaphors we create. Without them, it is difficult to function at a high level of reasoning; our understanding of the world is handicapped. Metaphor is a fundamental component of thought. Although Lakoff and Johnson acknowledge that thought can take place without metaphorical concepts, "such reasoning would never capture the full inferential capacity of complex metaphorical thought."11 Thus in order to reason abstractly, metaphor is needed. The

We anchor our understanding in the metaphors we create. Without them, it is difficult to function at a high level of reasoning; our understanding of the world is handicapped.

the warmth of being held and the affection of a parent. Later, we differentiate the two aspects but are able to reapply them metaphorically, such as in the case of the phrase "warm smile." By combining primary metaphors, we create complex metaphors, which we then use to reason about the world. For example, take the complex metaphor "A Purposeful Life is a Journey": when we break it down into its primary metaphors we get "Purposes are Destinations" and "Actions are Motions." Each of these primary metaphors gives us in-

complexities of thought, including scientific thought, could not be reached without the use of metaphor.

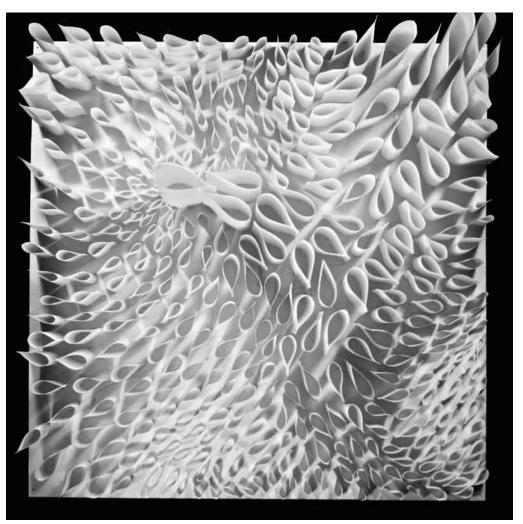
One common and dominant view of metaphor is metaphor as abbreviated simile. Under this view, "The result of a metaphoric interpretation will be the similarities that are both important and noticeable between distinct objects." The task of a simile is to bring out particular commonalities between two domains or objects, not to instigate a shift or change in meaning in any terms.

Thus metaphor as simile presupposes two things: first, that the two linked domains/ words, taken "literally," have at least one common element between them; second, that the metaphor does not alter or change the meaning of any of the words involved. The presuppositions of the simile approach do not allow for metaphor to execute its role concerning novel concept formation in science, and thus it is ruled out as an accurate characterization of metaphor, its meaning, and its function.

The reason for the first presupposition is obvious: to highlight a commonality, there must be a commonality in the first place. The second presupposition follows from the nature of "highlighting"; if you are simply highlighting a commonality between two things, you are drawing attention to it, so it will be more readily noticed. But, other than the attention being focused differently, the words still mean what they always mean. When metaphor is understood simply as simile, one must make due only with the literal meanings of words. Otherwise, the metaphor takes on new meaning beyond the literal. This is similar to another view which holds that, in a metaphor, words mean simply what they mean, and all a metaphor does is provoke some reaction in the listener.¹⁴ In this view, a metaphor is a set of words that produce an unusual effect.

If one accepts the abbreviated simile view or the alternative view of metaphor mentioned above, one must then find some way of accounting for the seeming indispensability of metaphoric meaning shifts in scientific thought and concept formation. Metaphoric meaning shifts take place when, in the context of the metaphor, meaning moves from one domain to the other. Accounting for this shift is no easy task, especially considering the insights of cognitive science on the nature of metaphor. In addition, the abbreviated simile view of metaphor does not account for novel metaphor use.

Earlier we said the first presupposition of the abbreviated simile view of metaphor



"Pattern Generation" by Evan Cerilli, Andrew Sullivan, Mario Delgado

is some commonality between the literal meanings of the two words. It is this commonality that a metaphor is supposed to bring out. Consider the case in which two words' literal meanings have no commonalities. For example, before blood was known to circulate around the body, the phrase "blood vessel" did not include the idea of "passage of fluid." But one could say (during this pre-circulatory time), "Blood vessels are irrigation canals for the body," which is a perfectly acceptable metaphor because it introduces a new ideas that the phrase "blood vessel" could come to include. The similarity

between the two main ideas—blood vessel and irrigation canal—is at least going to include the idea of "passage of fluid." But this similarity is not something that existed before the metaphor! The concept of "blood vessel" can undergo modification (i.e. inclusion of "passage of fluid") as a result of the metaphor; there is a shift in the meaning. In the context of the metaphor, the target domain takes on some qualities of the source domain. The metaphor, target, and source domains can all shift in meaning. It is this modification that leads to the importance of metaphor for science; new concepts cannot be understood

without adequate metaphors. It is this modification that is precluded by the simile and related approaches.

Some may raise the objection that this similarity did in fact exist before the metaphor was made. Or, some may say that the person who uttered the metaphor first found the similarity, and thus uttered the metaphor as an abbreviated simile. In response to the first objection, we point out that there is a distinction between similarity in objects or referents on one hand, and the meaning of a word on the other. In response to the second, we will clarify what constitutes a word's literal meaning. We will address both of these objections in the following paragraphs.

First, though a blood vessel and an irrigation canal may both include the "passage of fluid" in their actual, physical operation, the meaning of "blood vessel" did not include "passage of fluid" before someone connected the two. To argue otherwise implies the meaning of a word is dependent wholly on the actual object and not on the knowledge of the speaker. This would mean there are times when we speak with words full of unrealized truth, and thus do not know the meaning of what we speak. One would not know what "blood vessel" (or any word) really meant until one knew everything about it, vet this everything is what would be spoken at all times! This is a strange and counterintuitive view. To us, the departure this view takes from common intuition and the difficulties it creates for epistemology is enough reason to abandon it; it is much more likely that the meaning of "blood vessel" did not include "passage of fluid," while the passage of fluid was not attributed to blood vessels.

This point segues nicely into the response to the second objection about our response to a person determining the similarity before uttering the metaphor. A metaphor, like all words and phrases, is uttered and has meaning in a community of language users. The literal meaning (or dictionary definition) of a word is derived from the standard use in a community of language users. One person

can introduce deviations in meaning—and these generally at a particular time—but cannot instantly alter the literal meaning of a word for the larger community. When the phrase "blood vessels are irrigation canals for the body" is uttered to unsuspecting members of the community, the literal meaning of blood vessels still does not include the notion of "passage of fluid." Thus the similarity is not yet embodied in (literal) meaning (as required by abbreviated simile), and yet the metaphor holds. The metaphor is still expressive of some meaning beyond the known similarities. For a perhaps clearer example:

William Harvey raised the following problem: How could the heart pump out more blood in the space of one hour than the weight of a person? Only through the metaphor of the blood's movement in terms of a circle could Harvey explain how the blood went through the body at such a high rate. This hypothesis of continual circulation required a significant reformulation of the concept of movement of blood.¹⁶

This metaphor of "circular movement" to "movement of blood" was applicable and meaningful in a way that cannot be captured by simile, because the relevant similarities that the simile purports to expose are not known or understood. The meaning of a metaphor must be derived from somewhere else. Properties seem to be transferred, in a semantic sense, from the source domain (ex. irrigation canals) to the target domain (ex. blood vessels).

To discuss an alternate theory, as opposed to metaphor taken to be an abbreviated simile, in this theory a metaphor genuinely has meaning beyond the literal meanings of its constituents; it does more than highlight similarities within the concepts. A metaphor's meaning is an amalgam of the two or more words or ideas present in the statement. This meaning alteration can go both ways, with both domains taking on new meaning, or it can be unidirectional, with the target domain taking on qualities of the source domain. In

both cases, the metaphor generally requires the fields of comparison to be mutually exclusive. This means relevant aspects of each domain are highlighted, while other aspects are left out.¹⁷ As a result, those who use the metaphor will be influenced by it—they see through the lens of the metaphor, so to say.¹⁸

source domain of the metaphor comes from the body's sensorimotor system. Finally, the correlation is instantiated in the body via neural connections."²⁰ Understanding that metaphor as essentially linked to our embodied experience opens up the potential for new classes of metaphors. As we encounter

When individuals are trying to express something new (whether it be in science or poetry), metaphor lends itself to this endeavor because it can forge links between things that did not previously exist.

The metaphor takes on a certain power to dictate conceptual understanding.

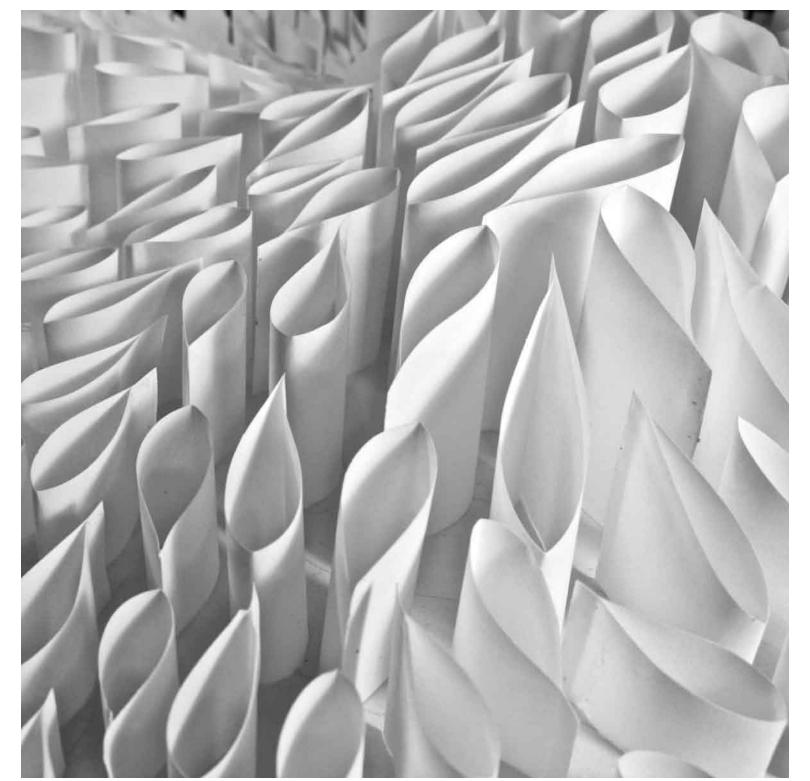
Instead of bringing out similarities in ideas, a metaphor applies aspects of the semantics of one idea (generally the source domain) to the semantics of the other idea (generally the target domain) by either addition or replacement.¹⁹ Thus the target domain is now characterized by semantic elements it is usually not characterized by, and the fruitfulness of such an alteration (determined by interacting with the object [referent] of the target domain) will determine the power of the metaphor. For example, when aspects of "circular movement" were added to "movement of blood," that alteration in "movement of blood" proved to have great fruitfulness in explanatory and problem-solving situations. And so, metaphors begin to move from their role in concept alteration to the assimilation into the grammar of a language.

It is important to acknowledge the significant role of metaphor in scientific thought because of the impact it has on thought in general. We cannot build up to abstract thought without primary metaphors. An important implication of the primary metaphor theory is that it demonstrates metaphor is embodied in three ways. In metaphor, the "correlation arises out of our embodied functioning in the world . . . Second, the

new sensorimotor or subjective experiences or judgments, we can create new primary metaphors, which could lead to the creation of new concepts and ideas and then to new stages of a language. This cannot happen if we accept the simile theory of metaphor because it does not allow for new meaning creation through metaphor.

Conclusion

In accepting the position of metaphors as capable of modifying meaning, we have demonstrated that metaphors are not secondary to literal meaning; they are distinct from literal meanings of words. Metaphors can act on the involved domains in order to alter and refine established concepts and potentially generate new concepts. This linking and altering of concepts, in conjunction with the theory of primary metaphors, suggests that metaphor is an early and primary component of new concept formation. When individuals are trying to express something new (whether it be in science or poetry), metaphor lends itself to this endeavor because it can forge links between things that did not previously exist. The expressive power of metaphor runs deep. It is how individuals utter what they feel yet cannot say. It is at once an expression of links beyond words and also the first step to introducing new elements into linguistic life.



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Loving Self-Reflection: Paradigms of Narcissism in The Woman in White

By Carolyn Laubender

"...[H]e saw before his eyes A form, a face, and loved with leaping heart A hope unreal and thought the shape was real. Spellbound he saw himself and motionless Lay like a marble statue staring down... All he admires that all admire in him Himself he longs for, longs unwittingly, Praising is praised, desiring is desired, And love he kindles while with love he burns... Not knowing what he sees, he adores the sight; That false face fools and fuels his delight. You simple boy, why strive in vain to catch A fleeting image? What you see is nowhere; And what you love—but turn away—you lose! You see a phantom of a mirrored shape: Nothing itself; with you it came and stays; With you it too will go, if you can go!" (Ovid, 3.415-438)

Detail of "Cool" by Jessica Bandy

The relationships in Wilkie Collins' novel, *The Woman in White*, resonate almost perfectly with both Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalytical theories of narcissistic impulses. Developed early in childhood, these impulses are said to motivate and structure our experiences of love. Though both theorists wrote after the publication of *The Woman in White*, the novel's unexpected exemplification of their ideas suggests that the psychoanalytic approaches they developed may indeed articulate some of our more subconscious drives and impulses.

uch like the foundational myth of Ovid. Wilkie Collins' The Woman in White also opens onto a landscape of Narcissism. For Collins, though, the terrain has changed: his pennings deal not with literal pond-gazing, but with the more metaphorical manifestations of self-love and adoration that comprise the core of his characters interactions with one another (and, for that matter, with themselves). But their particular vanities are various, ranging from comical hypochondria to a sensational and heroic love that serves to self-aggrandize rather than self-sacrifice. The narcissisms embodied by Collins' characters Fredrick Fairlie, Walter Hartwritght, and Laura Fairlie are not Ovidian as much as they are Freudian and Lacanian, with each figure fitting into a different psychoanalytic archetype of (self)love.

Sigmund Freud's writings on narcissism, when read alongside *The Woman in White*, suggest a shockingly complicated picture of Frederick Fairlie's character. Though the eccentric and rather odd uncle of Laura Fairlie

is a flawless depiction of an exaggerated narcissism and ego-centricity, a more radical interpretation of his character suggests that Fairlie is a far more complex expression of repressed psychological desires that lead him to, quite literally, fall in love with himself. His narcissism has progressed beyond the necessary Primary Narcissism that Freud sees in all individuals and has distorted into a totalizing Secondary Narcissism that manifests as hypochondria and is explained by an implicit coding of Fairlie's character as homosexual.

In Freud's 1914 essay, "On Narcissism: An Introduction," he suggests that narcissistic tendencies may not, as previously assumed, be a disorder, but are more likely a normative state of being. Freud theorized that individuals function with the capacity for two different types of libido: ego-libido and object-libido. Ego-libido (narcissism) "is the libidinal compliment to the egoism of the instinct of self-preservation" and constitutes an essential piece of "healthy" individuals. It is, as Freud terms it, a Primary Narcissism. Object-libido, then, is that section of desire that has been directed at objects external to the self and is typically

associated with the love of or desire for another person.

Freud imagines libido as a fixed quantity within the mind, thereby implying that ego-libido and object-libido are engaged in a constant exchange with one another. In cases when the individual's development of the libidinal stage is somehow "disrupted," however, the individual may never fully develop an object-libido. This results in Secondary Narcissism, or a psychological disorder where the libido withdraws its attention from the outside world and focuses entirely on an obsession with the self, as seen in cases of hypochondria and megalomania.

Thus the type of hypochondria exhibited by Fredrick Fairlie's character develops when the self becomes so obsessed with itself that it essentially begins to see the entire external world as a threat to either health or sanity. Fairlie's preoccupation with "the wretched state of [his] nerves" which he mentions, without fail, in every conversation he has, is the primary locus of his hypochondriac obsession; he is, by his own estimation, "nothing but a bundle of nerves dressed up to look like a man." Consumed by thoughts

of his body, his "nerves," his mental stability, his physical health, Fairlie often uses his "poor health" or "weak nerves" as excuses to either enact his own desire without being held socially responsible or to redirect conversation back to himself when it has strayed to other topics. He manipulates his "illness" as a way to control the characters around him, insisting that the voices of children, the banging of doors, and the dirt on visitors' shoes are all things that will disturb his health, thereby enacting his own wishes without necessarily having to view himself as narcissistic. The extremity of Fairlie's selflove is even noticed by Walter Hartright who, upon his first encounter with Mr. Fairlie, observes that his "self-affectation and [his] wretched nerves [mean] one and the same thing." Fairlie's self-absorption far surpasses any "normal" type of Primary Narcissism envisioned by Freud and so falls into the category of psychological disorders covered by Secondary Narcissism.

Interestingly, Freud often connects cases of libidinal disturbance with homosexuality and sexual "perversion," implying that homosexuals⁶ over-develop their ego-libido and become in some way clinically narcissistic, crafting obsessions either with themselves or some illusion of their self.7 This tendency towards narcissism results as a response to the super-ego's repression of their normal object desires—namely, individuals of the same sex—which forces the object-libido down while simultaneously increasing the egolibido. But this repression results in a more complex expression of narcissism because the ego has now been forced to recognize a flaw in itself. The self's desires are transgressive; unquestioning self-idolization and obsession are thus impossible. As a response, then, an "ideal ego" is created, which takes the place of the actual ego and projects to the individual an idealized (but falsified) image of himself.8

Since Fairlie's brand of ego-libido is not directed at his own *Real* ego, but aimed at an ideal ego—Fairlie's own aggrandized illusion

of himself—the reading of his character as "homosexual" seems an almost perfect Freudian case. Momentarily suspended in this Freudian immersion (and temporarily setting aside his theoretical "inaccuracies"), Fairlie's love for his ideal-ego, the ego that falsely sees itself as "one of the most easy-tempered creatures that ever lived," 9

with each other. But, from the first moment that they meet, Laura's role as Walter's figurative "looking-glass" is made quite clear. Walter's first description of Laura's physical form covers all of the traditional characteristics commonly recounted on a first encounter—dress, hair color, stature, demeanor—but as he continues he devotes

The reflective surface of Laura's eyes project to Walter the version of himself he instills in her, the version of himself as he has always wanted to be.

results from his developmental repression of those unacceptable object-libidos (other men) for whom his super-ego would never allow his id to express a desire. Unable to invest his libido in others, Fairlie instead turns all his desire inward, focusing it on an idealized version of himself rather than on his own flawed reality. This psychoanalytic theory then accounts for the stereotypical characterization of homosexual men as vain, self-possessed, and essentially feminized. For Freud, they, like women, never fully transfer into the world of normative object-libido like heterosexual men because both homosexuals and women are socially limited in their ability to pursue the objects of their desire. Permitted to love no one but himself (even if it is an inaccurate representation of himself), Fairlie's extreme and even clinical narcissism suddenly transforms. Thus placed under Freud's observant eve, Frederick Fairlie is no longer just an eccentric and thoughtlessly self-centered uncle, he is now an instance of a type; he has been diagnosed—known—for what he "truly" is: an exempla of a Freudian mold.

Frederick Fairlie is not, however, the only character consumed by visions of his own image. Much like Fairlie, neither Walter Hartwright nor Laura Fairlie ever becomes consciously aware of the underlying narcissism that drives the relationship they have

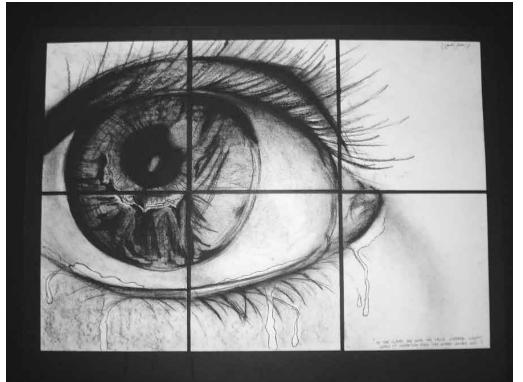
a disproportionate amount of time to the recollection of her eyes, "large and tender ... beautiful above all things in the clear truthfulness of the look that dwells in their innermost depths."10 Walter's fascination with Laura's eyes, the metaphorical "looking-glass" of the soul, is the first hint that his growing love and obsession with her mainly results from her transparency and reflectivity of character. Walter loves her for the "clear truthfulness of the look" she gives him, not because of any particular character trait she herself possesses. Her character is constructed as an empty vessel, carrying nothing innate or unique, and merely serving as a reflecting pool for the wishes, desires, beliefs, and interests of the characters that surround her. Even Walter—who must strain himself to see any of Laura's faults—is momentarily "troubled by a sense of an incompleteness"11 in her nature that suggests to him "the idea of something wanting," something lacking. 12 Having no opinions of her own, she will literally "believe all that [Walter] say[s] to [her]," 13 unquestionably reflecting back to him his own ideas and interests in each of their encounters. Walter—in a frightfully colonial way—cultivates her mind and refines her talents, leaving such a permanent and imbedded mark on her otherwise translucent mind that she has no option but to idealize him and love him dependently. He essentially shapes her perception of him to fit his own narcissistic idealization of himself: a strong, masculine teacher, worthy of admiration despite his class status as her drawing master.

Like Fairlie, then, Walter's desire is also for an ideal; but in this case, the yearning is best explained by the "Ideal-I" of Jacques Lacan rather than the Narcissism of Freud. Lacanian theories on the gaze, desire, and narcissism pivot on the conception of how the Castration Complex—part of Freud's Oedipal Complex—structures and destabilizes our ideas of ourselves as autonomous agents. 14 Essentially, Lacan posits that the mirror stage, a formative time in pre-linguistic early childhood when we first recognize an "image" of ourselves and thus begin to view ourselves as subjects, is both the beginning of the "self" and the beginning of the self's internal anxiety and desire. For Lacan,

a fundamental misrecognition occurs when we—internally fragmented and incomplete are presented with what appears to be a singular and cohesive external reflection of ourselves. As our infantile selves gaze at our own images and see ourselves as individuals, separate and self-contained, we (for the first time) construct a functional ideal of a "self' and the material body that corresponds to the stability and precision of the reflection. This construction, Lacan then suggests, becomes the root of all of the anxious insecurity we (as subjects) feel later in our adult lives; we will never be able to resolve the feelings of loss or lack that will perpetually plague us as we compare the perfection of the reflective image with the subjective expe rience of an unstable and inconsistent self.

Contradicting the logical assumption that mirrors would then be subconsciously shunned and avoided, always reminding us of our shameful materiality and instability, Lacan concludes that we actually view them in just the opposite way, internally obsessing over the image of a stable, coherent, and unified whole. The wholeness of this image fascinates us because it seems to present to us the "Ideal-I" (like Freud's Ideal ego), or that image of ourselves that we always want to be but never feel like we actually achieve. This complicated relationship signals our transition into the Imaginary Order, a psychological structure predominately characterized by our perpetually narcissistic demand for the stability of the mirror's reflection.

Our location in the Imaginary Order persists until we acquire language—symbolically representative, for Lacan, of the rules of culture, society, and law—and transition into the Symbolic Order (though he suggests that the narcissistic influence of the Imaginary is always present, even in the Symbolic). In the Symbolic Order, the infant's demand for the stability and unity of the self s/he sees in his or her mirror image morphs into the adult's desire for objects that s/he views as reflecting back to him or her the stability s/he once saw in the mirror. Thus, all of the relationships we form (with role models, with love objects, etc.) are implicitly narcissistic in that they all cater to our own obsession with our "Ideal-I," serving as warped looking-glasses that show us pictures of ourselves that are more composed than we actually are. These objet petit a's (objects of our desire) function, then, merely as a screen for the projection of our unending desire for our "Ideal-I," thereby making any actual fulfillment of our desire impossible—even through acquisition of our *objet petit a*—because desire is ultimately concerned with an impossible return to wholeness with the mother, not with the object itself. It is a constant process of projection and deferral. It is in this stage, also, that the final separation from the mother (and the maternal body) occurs; our assumption of the patriarchal Symbolic—the Father's code—necessitates a parallel denial of the mother who must be excluded as a price for cultural recognition.



"Untitled" by Hannah Cochran

Finally, Lacan's notion of desire in the Symbolic Order includes a phenomenon he terms "The Gaze." For Lacan, The Gaze is not merely the subject's act of looking at an object of desire, but also includes the subject's (almost paranoid) realization that he is being gazed back at by the object. This realization is essentially one fraught with anxiety and insecurity because we are forced to realize that the "object" we are gazing at has the eerie ability to gaze back, almost threatening us with our own "Ideal-I" by forcing us to subconsciously recall the fact that we believe we lack much of what our "object" reflects us to be. Thus, our relationships with objects in the Symbolic Order are similar to our relationship with ourselves in the Imaginary Order; both are characterized by a simultaneous obsession with the image of our ideal selves and a sense of anxiety stirred by the fact that the image forces us to realize that, in the Real, we are not what we want (or pretend) to be.

Logically, then, Walter's desire for Laura deconstructs into an extension of his infantile Imaginary demand for his "Ideal-I"—the



"Untitled" by Margaret Griffiths

competent, unified, perfect self his misrecognizes in the mirror. The reflective surface of Laura's eyes project to Walter the version of himself he instills in her, the version of himself as he has always wanted to be. When she reflects this romanticized idealization of himself back to him, his Primary Narcissism assumes control and he, like Narcissus, is psychologically fated to fall in love with his own image.

The text of *The Woman in White* almost immediately alludes to the underlying problems structuring Laura and Walter's desire for

up against our own self-misrecognition.¹⁷ When Laura looks at him, Walter ostensibly recognizes her lack (after all, she is only a mirror); but, more subconsciously, he is unsettled because he is reminded of his own shortcomings, his own "wanting" in comparison to the image she holds of him. Thus their relationship is entirely "wanting": one participant is completely translucent while the other is both in love with and unsettled by his own idealized reflection.

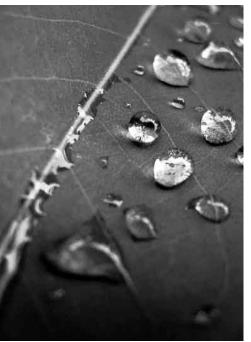
This fundamental anxiety accounts for Walter's almost obsessive drive to look at and

Their relationship is entirely "wanting": one participant is completely translucent while the other is both in love with and unsettled by his own idealized reflection.

one another. The nature of Walter's desire for Laura—being that it is merely a masked reiteration of Primary Narcissism—implies that, by gazing at her (and having her gaze back at him), Walter is simultaneously feeding his narcissistic idealized self- image and troubling that image by constantly reminding himself of his own lack in comparison to the image. Walter attempts to verbalize this uncanny¹⁵ paradox by again speaking of the ambiguous "lack" in Laura's character, saying that "At one time it seemed like something wanting in *her*; at another, like something wanting in myself . . . The impression was always strongest, in the most contradictory manner, when she looked at me . . . Something wanting, something wanting—and where it was, and what it was, I could not say."16 The fact that this "wanting" occurs most acutely when Laura is gazing at Walter, fixing her reflective eyes on him, speaks to Lacan's assumption that "The Gaze" is essentially coded with both the narcissism of love for the Ideal-I (as represented to us, in the Symbolic Order, through others) and anxiety over the reality that no one measures

watch Laura whenever possible. The insecurity that his idealized reflection of himself awakens prompts Walter to try to master that anxiety, to overcome it by perpetually staring at it. His repeated glances at and observations of Laura are thereby read not as looks of love, but as an almost colonial desire to gain control over and possess the unstable root of his fear. Despite his best (subconscious) efforts, though, Walter is never able to overcome the anxiety described in Lacan's version of the Castration Complex because, according to Lacan, the insecurity has nothing to do with the object petit a, which functions merely as a screen and has everything to do with our own latent recognition of the fact that we do not measure up to our idealized self-image. This internal disquiet can in no way be overcome by controlling the object, the mirror, the other person, because it stems from something internal to the self rather than external to it.

Unable to master the uneasiness he experiences every time he encounters Laura, Walter decides to leave Limmeridge in an attempt to "cast off the oppression under



"Untitled" by Margaret Griffiths

which [he is] living, at once and forever."18 Although he verbally justifies his departure as necessary because of Marian's discovery of his attraction to Laura and Laura's preexisting engagement to Sir Percival Glyde, Walter actually determines to leave Laura days before Marian intervenes and informs him of Laura's fiancé. His acknowledgement of the "oppression" that he feels at Limmeridge is thus unconnected to Marian's actions and can be seen as the result of his own masochistic desire to constantly pursue that which pains him (in this case, Laura Fairlie). Eventually, though, the internal conflict becomes too unbearable and Walter parts with Laura, leaving Limmeridge to seek some kind of mental peace elsewhere.

Walter's communications to Marian after his withdrawal from Limmeridge inform her that he plans to leave London, hoping to be "among new scenes and new people" by taking up a post on a ship sailing to the "ruined cities of Central America." Essentially, Walter, thus far a sensitive, observant, upper-class drawing instructor, has engaged himself in a colonial adventure to the wild

and untamed lands of the America's. Unable to colonize Laura and control the insecurity she stirs in him, he literally goes to another country to colonize other peoples, trying to resolve his inability to solve the former situation by succeeding in the latter venture.

Walter returns from the "wilds and forests of Central America"21 months later as a selfdescribed "changed man."22 His "wanderings" and his repeated "escape[s] from the peril[s] of death" have "tempered [his] nature afresh,"23 teaching his will "to be strong, [his] heart to be resolute, [his] mind to rely on itself."24 Furthermore, Walter's hypermasculine travels are later compounded and intensified by his own sleuth-like actions of surveillance and interrogation as he pursues proof of Laura's existence. At this point in the narrative, Walter's flawless representation of Lacanian theory becomes more complicated. Walter literally transforms himself into the stereotypical model of masculinity that he always wanted himself to be; active, dominant, socially and monetarily superior, omniscient (via his "objective" fact finding), and heroic in his self-sacrificing actions. Throughout the course of the novel,

ly, though his adventures in Central America do not instantly resolve Walter's relationship with Laura, the novel suggests that they do provide him with the unique (and arguably impossible) ability to resolve the foundational insecurity of "The Gaze" by becoming his Ideal-I and thereby conquering Laura, the locus of his anxiety, in the future.

Despite the novel's implication that Walter had, through a radical change of character, overcome the basic anxiety separating him from Laura, the actualization of their relationship is again delayed, this time because of a "problem" in Laura's character. Her traumatic entanglement with the life of Anne Catherick, the woman in white, forces her (via Count Fosco's actions) to adopt the identity, position, and mentality of a "lunatic." This deliberate confusion of identities and Laura's subsequent confinement to an asylum under Anne's name powerfully affects Laura's originally reflective personality, compelling her to not only "play" the part of Anne for mere show, but to actually become Anne. Just as Walter is easily able to influence Laura's mind and persuade her to reflect him perfectly, so too does Anne's life

Laura possesses no self-knowledge or means for self-reflection beyond the stimuli and opinions of the characters that surround her; like the stereotypically "good" woman, she exists for and through others, desiring nothing beyond appeasement.

he morphs from a passive and subordinate drawing teacher to a masculine but beneficent "savior" who literally fights to save Laura's oppressor, Percival Glyde, from a fire. In a sense, through his missionary wanderings and his detective investigations, Walter changes himself into his Ideal-I; he really and truly becomes everything that he previously idealized himself to be and yet subconsciously never quite believed that he was. Interesting-

and surroundings leave its mark on Laura, temporarily making her like Anne.

Laura's assumption of much of Anne's mentality and personality, as well as her name, becomes the reason, then, that Walter stops desiring her for a time after her return. In recounting Laura's physical appearance when she returns to Marian and him, he states:

The sorrow and suffering which I had once blamed myself for associating . . .

with the future of Laura Fairlie had set their profaning marks on the youth and beauty of her face. The fatal resemblance [between Laura and Anne] which I had once seen and shuttered at seeing, in idea only, was now a real and living resemblance which asserted itself before my eyes.²⁵

His love for her changes from a passionate desire for her former mirror-like state to "an interest of tenderness and compassion, which her father or her brother might have felt" 26 because she could no longer serve as a perfectly reflective body. The confusion between she and Anne forces to Laura to take on Anne's identity for a time, meaning that she is no longer flat and reflective—she had a personality, even if it was not her own. True to all accounts of narcissistic self-love, Walter cannot find Laura attractive and desirable until she stops mirroring Anne's image and again begins to reflect to him his own. Walter's love for Laura is so tied to his own Primary Narcissism (which Lacan theorizes that we never truly abandon as we transition

sally relegating her to the role of a passively reflective surface for her dominant counterparts. Laura possesses no self-knowledge or means for self-reflection beyond the stimuli and opinions of the characters that surround her; like the stereotypically "good" woman, she exists for and through others, desiring nothing beyond appeasement.

Laura's gradual return to her old self—if she can even be said to have an independent "self" at all—likewise signals the progressive reemergence of Walter's desire for Laura. This "happy change" in her character "awoke" "those imperishable memories of [their] past life in Cumberland" 28 and rekindled the flames of Walter's previous narcissistic desire for Laura. The pair finally "own that [they] love each other"29 and, soon after this declaration, are happily married. Implicitly, through Walter's reconstruction of his own character, he has literally fashioned himself into his Ideal-I, removing the anxiety that once plagued his earlier relationship with Laura. While Walter

Walter's final joy in marriage comes from the fact that he can now, fully and completely, own and master Laura; she is his love, his looking-glass, his mirror whose image he can now constantly and securely worship.

out of the Imaginary Order) that he physically cannot desire her until she returns to her former passive, womanly state. Laura does eventually return to her former self, but this return comes at the high cost of her memories, which, "from the period of her leaving Blackwater Park to the period of our meeting in the burial ground of Limmeridge Church, [were] lost beyond all hope of recovery." Her existence again assumes the domain of immanence traditionally attributed to women, characterized as having no ability for analytic thought, and univer-

always feels that something about his former relationship with Laura is "oppressive" or "wanting" because he can never completely master his own shortcomings and incongruities, the novel's portrayal of the reunited couple as "happy" and contented speaks to the idea that Walter has done the impossible: he has overcome his Lacanian Castration Complex and become his Ideal-I. In the most extreme instance of Walter's objectifying triumph at finally feeling control over Laura, Walter rants: "In the right of her calamity, in the right of her friendlessness,

she was *mine* at last! *Mine* to support, to protect, to cherish, to restore. Mine to love and honor . . . Mine to vindicate through all risks and all sacrifices."30 Walter's final joy in marriage comes from the fact that he can now, fully and completely, own and master Laura; she is his love, his looking-glass, his mirror whose image he can now constantly and securely worship. His happiness is not the arguably fictionalized and romanticized happiness of loving another person for "who s/he is"; rather, it is the overwhelming pleasure of loving something that reflects back to you your own perfection—a perfection about which you hold no insecurities or doubts.

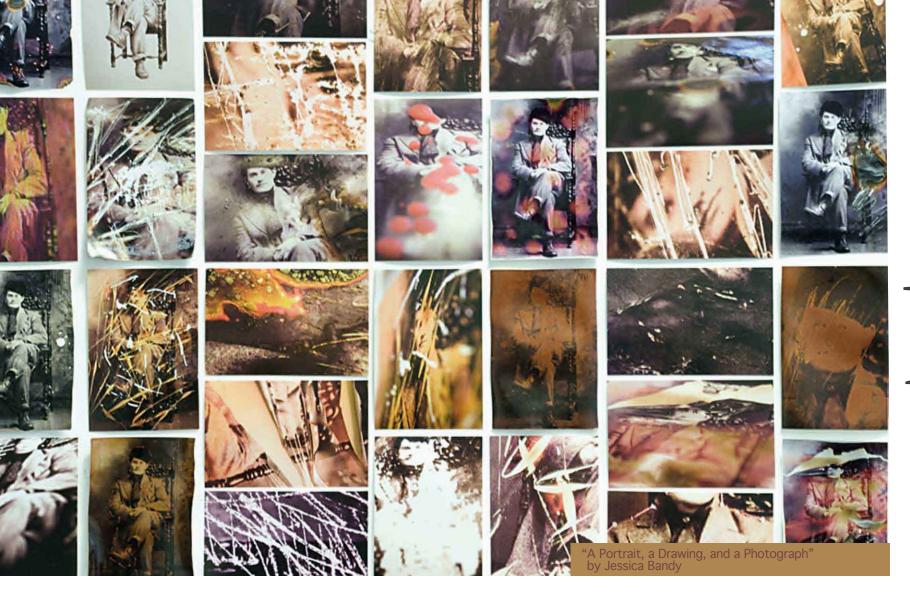
Although the novel follows Laura and Walter's matrimonial life for another few months, detailing Laura's return to her proper social place (only achieved by Walter's fact-finding), Count Fosco's murder, and ending with the birth of Laura and Walter's first child, "Mr. Walter Hartwright—the heir of Limmeridge," the text does nothing to complicate the rather simplistic ideal of the pair's "happiness." In a sense, then, The Woman in White resolves itself in a way similar to many Victorian novels: all troubles are overcome, desire is satiated, and the "good guys" triumph. It suggests, through Walter's character and his relationship with Laura, that the fundamental Lacanian notion of continual self-misrecognition and anxiety can eventually be resolved. Lacan's understanding of objet petit a's as primarily functioning as a screen for our own narcissistic projections requires Lacan to theorize desire as something inescapably and necessarily reproducing. Because our anxiety about our fragmented selves stems from an infantile separation from the mother—an event we can never reconstruct or overcome—our desire for our Ideal-I can never be achieved because our Ideal-I, that unified self, can never be returned to. Therefore, in the world away from romanticized and fictionalized constructs, desire can never be satiated; it is a perpetual reiteration of itself, always

re-projecting as soon as the original *objet petit a* is attained.

Perhaps, given my meta-psychoanalytic perspective, I would hold this type of narrative resolution, often seen in fairy-tales, melodrama and fiction of every genre (romance novel, of course, as the exempla par excellence), as problematic because it falsely presents to the reader a psychologically impossible (yet desirable) scenario as if it were truth, essentially constructing inaccurate delusions of "reality" in readers' mentality. Poisoned by the idealistic Victorian ending, lovers of fiction often point to novels as if they are textualized versions of truth, thus falling into the trap (and a seductive trap it is, indeed) of mistaking for reality what is simply fiction. Freud, quite famously, actually seeks to explain this literary and artistic tendency of representing a false yet attractive reality by applying his own theories of narcissism to the artists and writer, reading their urge to materialize lies as representative of the artist's own fumbling attempts to transcend his or her own anxiety: "The artist desires to win honour, power, wealth, fame, and the love of women; but he lacks the means for achieving these satisfactions" in the "real" world and so turns to art and writing to create a delusional resolution that would otherwise be unobtainable.32 From this Freudian metaperspective, the artist is necessarily narcissistic because every production, every creative expression, represents nothing more than "an introvert['s]" own desire to "[make] his dreams come true" and then take pleasure from that creative extension of himself.³³ Artists' fictionalized worlds are not the result of spontaneous bursts of genius, but are indicative of authors' own quasi-neurotic states and their vain attempts to stabilize those states through the work they produce. Often, they—like the characters they produce—are subject to being read as a living embodiment of the very paradigms of narcissism Freud assumed to be mentally ubiquitous and are repositioned from the pedestal of "creator" to the couch of the psychoanalyst.



Detail of "Untitled" by Margaret Griffiths



A New Direction of War:

The Ethnic War Waged by the Wehrmacht in Eastern Europe 1939-1942

By Zackary Biro

While the ethnic war waged in Eastern Europe during World War II was originally thought to be solely conducted by the German S.S. of the Nazi Party, the involvement of the German regular army (Wehrmacht) is revealed to be more significant than previously understood. Through careful scrutiny of photographic evidence, the author takes an alternative look at the Wehrmacht's relationship to Nazi leadership and the S.S., as well as its involvement in some of the most brutal episodes of ethnic warfare in World War II.

y the middle of the twentieth century Europe was certainly not a stranger to war. European nation states had been engaged in warfare for centuries, and the First World War in the second decade of the twentieth century saw killing on a scale never before realized. Despite these realities World War II brought with it a new kind of warfare on a massive scale. For the first time in European history, ethnic minorities and undesirables became targets of systematic violence and murder in a new age of total war. As the perpetuators of the murder of millions of European Jews and socially marginalized people, the National Socialist Party of Germany enforced these policies of ethnic total war. For the majority of the second half of the twentieth century, historians considered the Wehrmacht, Germany's armed forces from 1935 to 1945, to be free from the responsibility for the genocide. A certain image of "clean hands" became the common perception of the German people and the Wehrmacht in the post-World War II era. Most people have perceived the Wehrmacht as passive participants in the S.S.'s murdering of European Jews. It was assumed that the Wehrmacht officers and soldiers carried out orders without reflecting a sense of ideological agreement for the actions they were committing, and only passively participated in the murders by staying out of the way of the S.S. In light of recent evidence, particularly from the German World

War II exhibition *War of Extermination: The Crimes of the Wehrmacht, 1941-1944*, historians have been rethinking the influence of the Wehrmacht in the murder of Jews in Russia.

Recent historians looking at the evidence are divided as to how passively or actively the Wehrmacht participated in these murders. Historians such as Wolfram Wette, a professor of modern history at Albert-Ludwigs-University and Stephen Fritz, a professor of history at East Tennessee State University, believe in the Wehrmacht's voluntary participation in the bru talization and unwarranted murder of Eastern Europeans. Wette and Fritz see the Wehrmacht as an organization that took the Nazi idea of the ethnic inferiority of Eastern Europeans and Jews to heart. Other historians, like Richard Evans, a professor of history at the University of Cambridge, see the Wehrmacht as a passive player in the murders. It seems convenient to place the actions of the Wehrmacht into one of these two camps. However, the evidence shows that the Wehrmacht played an active role in the ethnic war in Eastern Europe while only the senior officer corps of the Wehrmacht embraced the Nazi ideas of ethnic hierarchy. During the first years of the war on the Eastern front, the Wehrmacht senior officer corps exhibited behavior that displayed a willingness to exterminate ethnic and political enemies of the Third Reich, but individual examples within the Wehrmacht's junior officer corps also display a passive attitude towards the murder of Eastern Europeans.

Among Nazi Germany's many acts of aggression in World War II were the invasions of Poland in September 1939 and the Soviet Union in June 1941. Photographic evidence has arisen that documents war crimes committed by the Wehrmacht during the invasion of Poland in 1939. The first photograph depicts the execution of approximately three hundred Polish prisoners of war by the Wehrmacht's 15th Motorized Infantry Regiment in Ciepielow, Poland on September 9, 1939. The photograph depicts several Polish prisoners of war after the Wehrmacht placed them in a trench and shot them (see Figure 1).1 Another photograph of the event shows the careful planning and organization taken by the Wehrmacht in the execution of these prisoners of war.² The actions taken by the Wehrmacht against people classified as prisoners of war blatantly violated the Hague Regulations of Warfare. The Hague Regulations were conceived after a series of conferences held in 1899 and 1907, and covered many topics including the proper treatment of prisoners of war. These regulations were recognized by over forty nations, including Germany. In fact, the Service Manual of the German Wehrmacht in World War II contained the regulations of land warfare established at the Hague Conferences. The Hague Regulations directly deal with the correct treatment of prisoners of war. Article 4 of the Regulations, Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, says that "prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not



of the individuals or corps who captured them. They must be humanely treated. All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers remain their property." The photograph shows that the Wehrmacht executions of Polish prisoners of war were clear violations of these international regulations. In comparison, the Wehrmacht's treatment of British and American prisoners of war on the Western front was quite different. The Wehrmacht placed British and American prisoners of war into camps where they were mistreated. Unlike the Polish prisoners of war, however, the Americans and British were not systematically murdered.4

The invasions of Poland and the Soviet Union were characterized by the brutal destruction of armies in the field of battle. These countries also became the site of a type of total war that the Germans exercised on a new level. Nazi Germany conducted a war "directed not only against another army, but against parts of the civilian population as well." The war in the east became a war of systematic annihilation for Germany. Jews and Russian political partisans became the targets of German military personnel and were killed or forced into labor camps. Despite what Wolfram Wette calls the "legend of the clean hands" of the Wehrmacht, recent evidence brought to the foreground of the discussion points to the Wehrmacht as a prime

player in acts of genocide in Poland and Russia. Most prominent is the evidence provided by the photo and document exhibition entitled Crimes of the German Wehrmacht: Dimensions of a War of Annihilation 1941-1944.

This photo exhibition first debuted in Germany during the mid-1990s, and it helped dispel some of the myths surrounding the Wehrmacht and the legend of their "clean hands" with regards to their involvement in the acts of genocide against eastern Europeans and Jews. Among the various photos and documents in the exhibit are numerous photos of groups of Wehrmacht officers and soldiers engaging in the execution of Russian Jews and political partisans. The first of these photographs comes from a collection of photographs that depicts public executions in the city of Minsk on October 26, 1941. Officers of the 707th Infantry Division of the Wehrmacht carried out the executions. The executed were eight men and four women who were killed for being alleged Russian political partisans. These men and women were in fact members of a Russian resistance group that housed wounded Russian soldiers. The men and women were

combat in the town Kraljevo. The fighting lasted several days and the Wehrmacht took citizens of the town hostage in an attempt to force the Serbs to surrender. When the resistance fighters continued their attack, the Wehrmacht responded by shooting 300 of the Serbian villagers. After the fighting ceased in Kraljevo, the Wehrmacht murdered between four thousand and five thousand male civilians in a nearby rail car factory.8 The photographs taken at various stages of the mass shooting are evidence of the killings organized by the Wehrmacht. Here the photographs depict the deliberate killing of civilians who were not necessarily Serbian partisan freedom fighters. These civilians were shot in an empty rail car factory not because they were guilty of a crime, but because the Wehrmacht saw Serbs as enemies of Nazi Germany (see Figure 3).9

The German Claus Hansman documented a Wehrmacht-initiated execution of Russian political partisans in the city of Kharkov in modern Ukraine:

The first human package . . . is carried outside. The limbs are tightly bound . . . a cloth covers his face. The hemp neckband is placed around

These civilians were shot in an empty rail car factory not because they were guilty of a crime. They were killed because the Wehrmacht saw Serbs as enemies of Nazi Germany.

paraded through the streets of Minsk before they were hanged wearing signs that indicated they had fired at German soldiers. The photographs of the event show the alleged partisans being marched through the streets before one of them was hanged (see Figure 2).7 These two photos demonstrate that the Wehrmacht soldiers were not only present at these executions but that they were the individuals who organized and carried them out.

The photo exhibition also provides more photographs that document the systematic killing of Eastern Europeans by the Wehrmacht. On October 13, 1941 Serbian resistance fighters engaged the 717th Infantry Division of the Wehrmacht in

his neck . . . he is put on the balustrade and the blindfold is removed from his eyes. For an instant you see glaring eyeballs . . . then he wearily closes his eyelids, almost relaxed, never to open them again. He now slides slowly downward, his weight pulls the noose tight, his muscles begin their hopeless battle. The body works mightily, twitches, and within the fetters a bit of life struggles to its end . . . Each one bears a placard on his chest proclaiming his crime . . . Partisans and just punishment. 10

The Wehrmacht was guilty of the murder of Jews in Eastern Europe as well as ethnic Serbs. In July, 1941 Hungarian forces fighting in cooperation with the German military forced several

thousand Hungarian Jews out of Hungary. The Hungarian soldiers forced the Jews across the border into the city of Kamenez-Podolsk in the Ukraine, which was under control of the Wehrmacht at the time. The Wehrmacht was unable to house or feed the several thousand Hungarian Jews, so Major Hans Georg Schmidt von Altenstadt and other members of the local Wehrmacht leadership held a meeting to decide the fate of the Jews on August 25. Friedrich Jackeln, commander of the Higher S.S. and Police in Russia South, told Altenstadt that he hoped the "liquidation of these Jews would be carried out by September 1, 1941." Jaekeln's statement was merely a suggestion since the Wehrmacht had no orders to kill civilians or Jews. The S.S. also did not have the authority to issue any such orders to the Wehrmacht. Altenstadt decided that the removal of the Jews would be necessary even though he had no obligation to execute them. Over the course of the next four days, the Wehrmacht in Kamenez-Podolsk shot the entire group of Hungarian Jews. Not only were the Hungarian Jews executed but all the Jews in the local area were murdered as well. The total number of Jews executed by the Wehrmacht in the city of Kamenez-Podolsk was around 23,600.12 The photographs of the event show the organization of the Jews into lines and groups so that members of the Wehrmacht could systematically murder them.¹³

It should not be assumed that the Wehrmacht executed 23,600 Jews because of an order given by the S.S. commander Friedrich Jeckeln. In fact the S.S. Einsatzgruppen and Security Service commandoes were given explicit control and



responsibility for "carrying out measures with respect for the civilian population."14 In short, the S.S. was designated as being responsible for the extermination of unwanted groups within the civilian population. Moreover, Wette says that while direct and specific orders were drawn up that called for the cooperation between the Wehrmacht and the S.S., the same orders gave the S.S. "sole responsibility for carrying out their mission."15 Major Hans Georg Schmidt von Altenstadt and the Wehrmacht in Kamenez-Podolsk were not responding to any order given to them to execute the 23,600 Jews. The Wehrmacht took it upon themselves to commit the executions.

Wehrmacht. The writings of lower level members of the Wehrmacht show a lack of hatred and motivation to murder the ethnic enemies of Nazi Germany. Before the invasions of Russia in 1941 and Poland in 1939 members of the Wehrmacht were already showing a conflict of interest between the Nazi political ideas of ethnic hierarchy and their own convictions. Some soldiers of the Wehrmacht, like Albert Bastian, found it difficult to reconcile Nazi ideas of ethnic hierarchy with older German stances of toleration. "I was in despair. Although my father opposed my teacher . . . I respected my teacher. And here was my father, a friend of Jews. I just couldn't figure

Junior officers and noncommissioned officers of the Wehrmacht did not embrace the sense of racial superiority that the Nazi leadership tried to instill in them.

These instances of murder and genocide demonstrate that the Wehrmacht assumed a very active role in the ethnic violence directed against Eastern Europeans and Jews. In doing so, the senior officer corps of the Wehrmacht overstepped the German high command's established boundaries and roles that made the S.S. responsible for carrying out the executions. The Wehrmacht also violated the Hague Regulations in their treatment of prisoners of war and civilians. The participation of the Wehrmacht in the execution of groups of Eastern Europeans is undeniable based on the photographic evidence. Now the question of what led the Wehrmacht to overstep their bounds must be answered. The orders given to the Wehrmacht were simply to assist the S.S. by giving them "marching orders, food, and shelter."16 The high Nazi leadership never required the Wehrmacht to participate in the execution of unwanted groups of Eastern Europeans, and so the overzealous actions of the Wehrmacht must be accounted for, whether the culprits were high ranking or not.

The motivation for the acts of genocide committed by the Wehrmacht cannot be found in the junior officer corps or the lower ranks of the

it out."17 Helmut Schmidt was another soldier in the Wehrmacht who never showed any inclinations towards wanting to execute the Nazi Party's ideas of ethnic cleansing. Helmut wrote that he "had no real ambition as far as the military was concerned . . . Then the war started. As young as I was, I only hoped that the episode wouldn't last long."18 Another junior officer, Hans Herwarth von Bittenfeld in the Wehrmacht reflected on what it meant to be part of the Wehrmacht: "My oath of loyalty was not a concern to me. I swore an oath to Germany. And I had the distinct feeling that Hitler had already broken his oath several times by then. I sensed that Hitler was a menace to Germany,"19

This evidence from Wehrmacht soldiers seems to run contrary to the conclusions of Richard Evans. In his book The Third Reich at War, Evans argues that the Nazi ideology and their policies of ethnic violence took root in the junior officer corps of the Wehrmacht. Evans says that "the intermingling of Nazism with a more traditional kind of nationalism was strongest amongst the youngest and most junior troops."20 Evans argues that the emerging group of young officers and young soldiers in the



rigure

late 1930s and the early 1940s were extremely impressionable. Evans thinks that junior Wehrmacht officers easily accepted Nazi ideology, which allowed them to commit acts of genocide in Russia. The previous testimony from the noncommissioned officers and junior officers of the Wehrmacht does not seem to follow the pattern of behavior among Wehrmacht junior officers that was described by Evans. Members of the Wehrmacht's junior officer corps, like Hans Herwarth von Bittenfeld, were not easily persuaded by the ideals of the Nazi Party. During Operation Barbarossa, Hans Herwath von Bittenfeld was a junior officer in the Wehrmacht. He classified the genocide in Russia as a "stupid" and "inhuman treatment of the population."21 These accounts show that the junior officer corps of the Wehrmacht did not possess the ruthless hatred of Russian and Jews to aggressively pursue acts of genocide in Russia.

After breaking the non-aggression pact with Russia, Nazi leadership began to force the subhuman image of the Serbs and Russians on the German people and the lower ranks of the Wehrmacht through the use of propaganda that displayed the need "to wipe out the species of subhuman Red."22 Wette recognizes that the Nazis based this propaganda "less on knowledge" and more on "negative stereotyping and prejudice."23 Nazi leaders used this stereotyping to try and eliminate any inhibitions German soldiers would have had towards killing Serbs, Poles, or Russians.²⁴ As expected, the Nazis perpetuated stereotypes they instilled in the Wehrmacht and the German people before the war were tested when the war began. As Wehrmacht soldiers be-

gan to come into contact with Eastern European soldiers and citizens, the conceptions of Russian soldiers began to change. Marlis Steinert explains in her book Hitler's War and the Germans that "the daily contact with the eastern worker, who showed himself to be intelligent, technically talented, and likeable caused the real breach in this carefully created image of the enemy."25 Steinert recognizes that the common German and the lower levels of the Wehrmacht identified with the common Eastern European and saw him as a comrade. This is hardly the attitude that would have resulted in the common Wehrmacht soldier actively pursuing the execution of Eastern Europeans. The close contact between Wehrmacht soldiers and Eastern Europeans alleviated the artificial hatred planted by the Nazi leadership in the Wehrmacht ranks.

With experience in battle, many Wehrmacht soldiers even began to admire the courage of the Russian soldiers. In a 1942 letter Helmut von Harnack noted, "the extreme modesty of the personal needs of the Russian soldier, who in his

on the how brutally the Wehrmacht conducted the war in the east when he wrote, "all evidence of humanity appears to have disappeared in deed and in heart and in consciousness."²⁹

Other Wehrmacht soldiers understood and commented on the brutality of their actions. One private in the Wehrmacht believed that "none will remain unpunished by this war, each will get his just desert, in the homeland as at the front."³⁰ Other soldiers saw the destruction of German cities as the punishment for the crimes of the Wehrmacht. Johannes Huebner stated it plainly when he said, "Death is the wages of sin."31 These views of admiration of Russian soldiers and the remorse for the brutalization of Russian civilians were not the cause of the war crimes committed by the Wehrmacht. Junior officers and noncommissioned officers of the Wehrmacht did not embrace the sense of racial superiority that the Nazi leadership tried to instill in them.

Unlike the lower levels of the Wehrmacht, the senior officer corps did not show any significant

Major Hans Georg Schmidt von Altenstadt not only ordered the execution of a group of Jewish refugees sequestered in Kamenz-Podolsk, but also the entire local Jewish population. He did this without receiving direct orders to execute either group.

mixture of doggedness and toughness possesses an enormous power of resistance."²⁶ After an initial admission that Russians were "a people that requires long and good schooling in order to become human," a private in the Wehrmacht admired the "often superhuman, purposeless resistance of encircled groups" of Russian soldiers.²⁷ Members of the Wehrmacht also felt sympathy and regret for the victims of murder. In a 1941 letter, Kurt Vogeler said that "at no time in [the world's] existence has there been a war that can be compared with this current one . . . The poor, unhappy Russian people! Its distress is unspeakable and its misery heart-rending."²⁸ In a letter from the same year Heinz Kuechler commented

signs of resentment for the actions of genocide in Eastern Europe. In fact, one of the examples that even resembles resentment among the general staff comes from Lithuania after fifteen hundred Jews were executed in 1941. Franz von Roques, commander of the Army Group North Rear Area, and Field Marshal Wilhelm von Leeb contemplated sterilizing the remaining Eastern European Jews instead of committing mass murder. ³² This event suggests that Wehrmacht officers were aware of the killings and had enough influence to prevent them from occurring. It also shows that any sort of resentment found among the Wehrmacht officer corps could not prevent ethnic violence completely since Roques

and Leeb saw mass sterilization as an acceptable alternative to murder.³³

The actions of the Wehrmacht during the

first years of World War II can be attributed to

an overzealous senior officer corps that embraced the racial aspects of the war in Eastern Europe. These officers were willing to step over the limitations placed on them by Nazi leadership because of their strong ideological connections to the views of the Nazi Party. Wette attributes the strong connection between the Wehrmacht officer corps and Nazi leadership to the shared importance of war to the state. Nazi leadership was ready and willing to engage in warfare to ensure the survival of a strong German state. Senior Wehrmacht officers shared this view of the importance of warfare. Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke, the Chief of Staff of the Prussian army from 1858 to 1888, believed that "Peace is a dream, and not even a good one; war is a link in God's world order."34 Moltke represents a strong tradition of war amongst the German people that praised the German warrior in his passionate struggle to expand Germany's boarders. General Hans von Seeckt made a connection between the importance of war and the inferiority of Eastern Europeans when he said that Iews and Communists didn't share the same views with the ethnic Germans on the importance of war.³⁵ This agreement in ideology was part of a larger movement within the Third Reich that resulted in the submission of Wehrmacht generals to the will of Hitler and high Nazi leadership. Wette recognizes the political power and autonomy of the Wehrmacht generals, but he says that they saw political pluralism as a weakness in government: "The military leaders rejected democracy because they regarded it as a weak form of government, and they welcomed the reestablishment of an authoritarian state under Hitler."36 This submission to the will and ideology of Nazi authority is what caused the leadership of the Wehrmacht to take matters into their own hands on the front.

The cases of brutality and murder committed by the Wehrmacht were the result of decisions made by the Wehrmacht senior officer corps. The Wehrmacht was not supposed to

act as execution squads in the campaign against Russia, yet Major Hans Georg Schmidt von Altenstadt saw things differently. He not only ordered the execution of a group of Jewish refugees sequestered in Kamenz-Podolsk, but also the entire local Jewish population. He did this without receiving direct orders to execute either group.³⁷ One of the photographs from the execution of alleged Russian political partisans in Minsk even depicts the final acts of preparing the prisoners to be hanged being carried out by Wehrmacht officers.³⁸ Wehrmacht officers committed these acts partially because they "wanted to show their 'Fueher' just what model national socialists they were"

socialists they were."39 In September, 1941 General Max von Schenkendorff, Commander of the Rear Area Army Group Center, ran a training program for company level officers on how to conduct warfare against the Russian partisans. The training program taught Wehrmacht company officers that "the Jew is the partisan, the partisan is the Jew."40 This view is part of an older set of propaganda messages used in the mid-1930s to portray Soviets and Jews as threats to the world, which subsequently caused senior officers like Schenkendorff to pursue the active persecution of Jewish citizens. Wehrmacht generals may have been able to maintain an ethnic view of the war because they were not in constant contact with common Eastern Europeans. Lower-level Wehrmacht soldiers were able to see the true nature of the Eastern Europeans and make connections with them while the senior officer corps of the Wehrmacht remained distanced from the enemy and their own soldiers.

The first-hand involvement of the Wehrmacht in the murder of Eastern Europeans during the campaigns against Russia and Poland is undeniable. The photographic evidence of Wehrmacht war crimes confirms the active participation of the Wehrmacht in an ethnic war that many thought only the S.S. Einsatzgruppen were responsible for. Other accounts of Wehrmacht soldiers and officers have indicated the existence of a complex relationship between Wehrmacht personnel and their conception of Eastern Europeans. Noncommissioned officers and junior officers who were in constant contact with Eastern Europeans were able to draw their own conclusions about the people Nazi leaders had labeled as ethnically inferior, while the Wehrmacht generals remained rooted in Nazi ethnic ideology. The recent conclusions that historians have made in the last few decades have challenged the popular conceptions of responsibility for the events in Eastern Europe between 1939 and 1942. Currently, many people hold the common Wehrmacht soldiers responsible for these events, and while they certainly deserve their share of the blame, these events were not caused by desire of individual soldiers to murder ethnic enemies of the Third Reich. Instead, the execution of Eastern Europeans was the result of Wehrmacht generals taking matters into their own hands and overstepping their bounds.



"It Comes From Underground and In Between" by Samantha Rivera

On the Possibility By Tim Shanahan

Style is a much-debated concept within the architectural community. The following essay interrogates the intellectual coherence of the concept in order to determine the full extent of its influence for the profession of architecture. The author contends that style, as it is commonly understood, cannot exist at the physical level, and is most likely a social, rather than an architectural, phenomenon. Through this change in perception of style, we can approach a better understanding of its social implications and its role in building design.

he idea of style is a deeply troubling one for the profession of architecture. It is a pervasive and influential concept, but it is often only spoken of in hushed tones or quotation marks. Architects are highly resistant to the labeling of their own work as a style or "of" a certain style. Similarly, critics are equally hesitant to use the term, for they often feel as if it is overly reductive or disrespectful to the architecture in question. The largest problem with style, however, is not that it cheapens architecture, but that it might not actually exist. Style is an intellectually weak concept that does not exist at the tectonic level of architecture; rather, it persists as a folk classification that attempts to process the diversity of buildings without saying anything about the buildings themselves. And yet, as a concept, it is popular and will likely remain so indefinitely. Its weaknesses have been overcome by its legitimization as a concept by a number of prestigious institutions and buildings, as well as its continual tacit acceptance. A thorough understanding of style must recognize that

style is maintained as a social construction that provides meaning at the social, as opposed to the tectonic, level of architecture. In this paper, I intend to show how architectural style functions as a social constitution in order to explain style's inability to withstand basic interrogation and continued existence as a pervasive concept in architecture.

Like architecture itself, style has enjoyed many definitions over the years, perhaps as partial testament to its ties to the vicissitudes of socially determinate culture. Twentiethcentury architect Le Corbusier has described it as a "lie," "a feather in a woman's hat," and "a unity of principle animating all the work of an epoch,"(citation) among other things. Architectural historian par excellence Nikolas Pevsner referred to style "as an approach to the life that slumbers unconsciously within all of us"(citation) in a paragraph that dismissed the concept as inappropriate for the description of architecture. Style has also been described as mere "tendencies" by gothic revivalist Adams Cram.(citation)

Style as a genre comes from the definition that emerged in the seventeenth century. The

refers to an instrument used for writing. It has also referred to a piece of writing itself, or sections or paragraphs within a single document, as well as connoting textual qualities. By the fifteen hundreds, a more modern definition had emerged; style began to refer to form, or the manner in which something was done. By 1706, the Oxford English Dictionary records style as the way in which a work of art is executed. The emergence of this definition coincides with the emergence of scientific rational classification schemes across intellectual disciplines. It is hardly surprising, then, that the study of aesthetics would adopt the same taxonomy-based value systems that were appearing in a variety of pseudoacademic disciplines.

word is derived from the term stylus, which

The folk understanding of style coincides with a general increased usage of the scientific method, as well as knowledge in the European world. During this time, European intellectuals were thinking more critically about art and the nature of knowledge itself. Archeological expeditions, as well as colonial activities and general travel, occasioned

encounters with exotic people and cultures, which precipitated a classification effort within the languages of the colonial powers. Knowledge of the world and of the past, greatly expanded during this time and, unlike at any other time, Europeans were acutely aware of their location within a broader and more diverse understanding of humanity. New words were needed to articulate the ideas that emerged to classify this outpouring of information about Europe's past and its global neighbors. The evolution of style's definition reflects these trends, as the term soon aided the classification of art, crafts. and architecture, pursuant to the European intellectual's need to incorporate the scientific method and classify everything according to the rational aspirations espoused by the enlightenment. For Peter Collins, the emergence of the awareness of styles "aroused a concern for classification whereby a new science of archeology was developed, which treated buildings like documents of historical research; it [also] introduced a fashion for imaging Roman compositions, however alien these might be to the purpose the new building was intended to serve." It is likely that the opposition to style in contemporary architectural practice and parlance is influ-

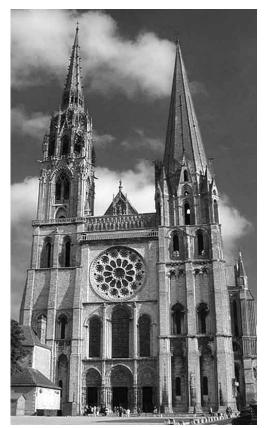
were constructed with such a constrained number of visual styles, the styles became abstracted from the original programs that the structural elements were once used to support. In other words, style was further reduced to aestheticism when it was no longer attached to the buildings that the constituent elements of the style in question were derived from. Thus gothic was divorced from its original attempt to covey the wonders of Heaven when it was used in the building of houses, parliamentary halls, and other secular buildings. Classical architecture as we know it today was also aestheticized and de-principled when it was applied to housing, churches, libraries, and other buildings in ways the ancient Greeks did not use it. It was once said that style should be the result of great architecture; however, it could be argued that style was the cause or inspiration for many of the major buildings at this time.

The intensification of style's usage coincides with the crystallization of the Victorian classificatory geist. During this time, great effort was extended to identifying and ranking styles according to their appropriateness for a variety of uses. Style, in its most vulgar form, reached its height in the nineteenth century as various architectural styles were applied to

The most basic assumption of style is that it is believed to be generated out of the qualities of the building itself, but it is arguable that it is often the other way around.

enced by a prolonged reaction to the excesses and abuses of nineteenth-century building. Ironically, it is arguable that the way in which people came to understand style as it relates to architecture also emerged at this time. The idea that there could be a discrete "gothic" and a discrete "classical" or "classicism" was likely legitimized by many of the buildings that were built during the nineteenth century. Given that so many different building types

a number of large and prestigious buildings without regard to historical accuracy or appropriateness. Trends in architectural education as well as the popularity of architectural pattern books helped popularize certain styles over others. Style, in the way architects tend to hate most, was used to justify the building of Gothic, Classical, Egyptian, Renaissance, and occasionally Asian buildings that accommodated a variety of programs. It is also



important to realize the degree to which the use of architectural style was also involved in a broader nation-state movement where a national architecture was sought. This had the curious effect of many countries claiming for themselves architecture that was developed in the absence of the nation-state or for ecclesiastical purposes. In short, style was simply another aesthetic consideration that was supposed to accompany choices in language, music, and other forms of national self-representation.

During this time, a style was used as an inspiration for a building's image and prescribed the inclusion of certain features that came to be rigidly associated with the said style. Thus gothic architecture could be achieved by building something that looked gothic, giving the structure pointed arches, for example, as well as a number of other elements that came

to be associated with the gothic look over time. Similarly, Egyptian architecture could be "achieved" by building with a certain heaviness, including battered walls, and specially ornamented columns. While the architecture was intellectual on some level—Egyptian architecture came to have funerary associations, and classical architecture remained popular for civic and public buildings—the impetus was largely aesthetic. A cursory study

"new-architecture" style which was inclusive of five particular points or elements. (citation) The Bauhaus school was equally suspicious of style but believed that Bauhaus architecture and design were discrete and indefinable; a building was categorized not by its look, but due to certain steps taken the design of the structure.

In most cases, however, style is a glib classification designated to buildings that look a

Style is not a structural or programmatic phenomenon, but a social one. It is not the buildings themselves that have style, but rather, our belief that they do.

of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century architecture reveals the pervasive influence of purely aesthetic considerations on architectural practice as a limited number of styles are applied, comically at times, to an extremely wide variety of buildings.

Architects are right to generally object to style's use as it applies to architecture, albeit for the wrong reasons. The ultimate problem with style is that it does not exist in a tangible way. The most basic assumption of style is that it is believed to be generated out of the qualities of the building itself, but it is arguable that it is often the other way around; this is apparent in cases where ambiguous buildings are subsumed into a specific style. Over the years, a number of arguments have been put forth to support style as either a chronological, structural, or programmatic phenomenon, in addition to a purely aesthetic consideration. The architecture community has introduced several arguments that acknowledge something approaching style. However, these arguments tend to stress the more intellectually-prestigious method of design as opposed to the mannerist application of visual elements. While Le Corbusier was generally suspicious of the concept, he seemed to advance what might be called a

certain way or are consistent with our idea of what that particular style should be. Thus I would argue that style is not a structural or programmatic phenomenon, but a social one. It is not the buildings themselves that have style, but rather, our belief that they do. In actuality, style is a mutable and socially constructed mechanism that allows us to bring non-identical buildings into intellectual coherence. This assertion causes a number of problems due to the discontinuity between the folk construction of a style and the physical construction of any single building. For one, it is not known which parts of a building are determinant or generative of a style. The mutability of the style mechanism renders the distinction between the qualities of a building that are essential and those only incidental to its style nearly impossible. That two buildings could be of the same style and not look or function in the same way poses a problem for classifying them, because an arbitrary selection of qualities of either will have to be used to bring them into stylistic congruity. Hence, it seems as though style generalizes across cases, and also within them, because it is likely that many buildings "of" a certain style will lack some of the structural features conventionally associated with that style.

Consider an attempt to describe two buildings that many would tacitly agree are both legitimately gothic: Chartres Cathedral and Yale Law School. Chartres and Yale were built at different times and with different methods, proving that style cannot be a chronological phenomenon. They are also of different programs, which excludes that consideration. Chartres has flying buttresses and uniformly-pointed windows, while Yale Law School has a number of rectangular windows and lacks flying buttresses; this rules out fenestration and other surface attributes as determinant qualities. Yale Law School is constructed mostly of red brick with heavy quoins, while Chartres is made almost entirely of stone, so materiality cannot be used as the basis of style either. Finally, Yale Law has many crenulated eves, whereas Chartres does not. And yet, despite the fact that these buildings have considerable differences in both their appearances and in the execution of their basic structural qualities, one would be



hard-pressed to find anyone who would disagree with the assertion that the buildings are not both of the same style, or at least related.

The challenge of finding "gothicness" is further complicated by buildings that have even less continuity. The Tribune Tower by Raymond Hood and the PPG Building by Phillip Johnson look almost nothing alike and are certainly very different from either Yale Law or Chartres, and yet each has been described as gothic. Admittedly, Yale Law looks



Tribune Tower

more gothic than the Tribune Tower, but the Tribuwne Tower has flying buttresses just like Chartres. Johnson's PPG Building seems like it should represent the biggest contradiction to its gothic classification, yet one could argue it does not because its glass construction allows for maximal light penetration, which was one of the principle attributes of gothic construction. Program cannot be safely relied upon lest the PPG Building is to be considered more gothic than Chartres.

The Baughnum Center at the University of Florida is also another serious challenge to the idea of style. The building looks gothic because it has the silhouette, along with several other features, of a gothic cathedral. However, the Center utilized rationalist construction methods to dematerialize the structure. It is also modern in its absence of ornamentation and general structural objectivity. This poses the problem of trying to decide where one style ends and another begins. Can a building be gothic if it uses modern means to execute a gothic principle? Its form cannot be relied upon, because there are other supposedly gothic buildings that do not share its cathedral shape. Perhaps the building is "bi-styled," but this assertion lacks intellectual rigor since the two styles are so adulterated.

The differences in the aforementioned buildings expose the limitations of assigning a style to anything that has to do with the buildings themselves, despite our continual willingness to associate them with each other. The concept of style itself is the construct that allows us to group these and other buildings together by giving us a mutable mechanism to continue to act as if the styles themselves exist. In this way, the gothic style is functioning as a social constitution, insofar as it is a category that has become embedded into the institutional fabric of society and participates in our common stock of social knowledge. Its mutability allows us to arbitrarily borrow different features to subsume a building into a style.

The concept of social constructivism was first advanced by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann in The Social Construction of Reality. Berger and Luckmann argue that people and groups interact with each other, and these interactions then become habituated into norms and reciprocal roles that are played out



PPG Building

over and over again. Eventually, these roles are institutionalized as more and more people tacitly act as though they exist. At this point these norms are said to be socially constructed, and they are maintained by people's willingness to let them influence their behavior. These networks form a social reality that is separate from the world of real things but influences our organization of the knowledge of the world of real things.

The process of the legitimization of social constructions occurs through a variety of mechanisms, but for my purposes, I will limit my inquiry to language and signs, since many styles have a word that designates a collection of signs into a discrete style. Architecture is full of signs, and styles can be thought of as

with architecture.

tion. The subjective nature of social reality allows us to arbitrarily and conveniently group non-identical buildings together into the same style by picking and choosing from a variety of characteristics until we bring the building sufficiently in line with our construction of what constitutes gothic, or any other style.

Despite the criticisms against the content of style, it would be foolish to dismiss its existence. The idea of style serves an important function in the social fabric of society because it allows us to deal with the vast diversity in building as well as maintain our ability to communicate with architecture. For instance, we have decided to accept as classi-



collections of these signs. These signs—for example, pediments, columns, and capitals in classical architecture—run the risk of losing their meaning when outside of the sign system of a style. The social—as opposed to, say, the determinately structural—nature of style allows for some flexibility in classification. This is how non-identical buildings can still be of the same style, at least on an intellectual level. When there are not enough signs to support the desired sign system, the system breaks down because people refuse to tacitly behave as though it exists. So long as people are willing to refer to something as such, a style can continue despite the intellectual weaknesses and contradictions exposed above. Our language allows us to designate Yale Law School and Chartres, as well as the Tribune Tower, as gothic because there is not a mass critical movement against this folk classifica-

the Parthenon. Temples, however, were exceptional buildings and in no way communicate the diversity of building practices undertaken in the thousands of years of Greek civilization. However, by arbitrarily selecting a few qualities or examples, we can transmit other arbitrarily-associated ideas of Greek civilization in perpetuity. Hence classical architecture often uses pediments and Ionic and Corinthian columns to communicate democracy, civic participation, citizenship, and representative governments to people who tacitly accept these meanings. However, society could just as easily use amphitheaters and tholi to communicate the values of sexism, slavery, olive farming, or any other ideas that one might associate with ancient Greece. The reciprocal acceptance of the former architectural value set allows us to hone the notion of classicism until it is both entrenched and intuitive.



Baughnum Center at the University of Florida

To deny style is to deny hundreds, if not thousands of years of collective efforts to legitimize and establish the social construction of values into our stock of architectural knowledge. Social constructions are, after all, heuristics that allow us to get beyond the particulars of individual cases. This may cause problems in other areas, but for architecture it can be our medium. Style may be a weak concept, but it will remain an important one as long as we want to allow architecture to participate in the social fabric of our collective system of signs and meanings. Architects may feel as though their work is above, beyond, or without a certain style, but they should be wary of the power of reciprocal interaction to form reified mutable categories that actively work to subsume style. And besides, I would venture to say that it is rather tough to defeat something that never existed in the first place.

Applied Post-Development Theory:

Case Study of Enda Graf Sahel

By Erica Prosser



Despite the excess of material available on "development" and "development theory," there is limited research on the most recent division of anthropological study: post-development theory. This study seeks to establish post-development theory as a beneficial and practical response to societies exploring options for social change. Africa has long been the target of "development" projects, and this study of an alternative to "development" is valuable to organizations attempting to create social change in communities across the globe.

ne 1980s brought about much upheaval concerning "development theory" and the projects implemented in its name. Critics of the theory claimed that "development" plans were failures, and there was a call for a new philosophy and innovative projects. Thus, post-development came into being, rejecting "development" because of its attempts to eradicate indigenous culture, impose Western lifestyles, and change the people's perceptions of themselves. By first establishing exactly what theorists define as post-development, as well as examining criticisms of the new discourse, it may be found that this school offers potentially beneficial ideas and practices. Once a solid understanding of the post-development school has been established, it will be possible to view it from an African perspective. Though the theory is relatively new, and literature on the subject is sparse, I have found one potential case study, an NGO in Senegal that does not explicitly claim post-development roots but clearly operates as if it does.

Post-Development Defined

Post-development theory is classified as a critique to the current "development" model used by so many social change activists, and while many believe it is nothing more than another criticism of "development," it is actually unique

in its ideals. The aspect of post-development that makes it qualitatively different from other theories is its outright rejection of all current "development" plans, rather than a revamping of them. Now, before I continue, it is imperative to define "development" as it is used here. In the likeness of Sally Matthews' "Post Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa," and Arturo Escobar's Encountering Development, who refer to "development" as the post-World War II development project, this paper will refer to "development" as post-war development.^{2,3} This term encompasses all theories and practices that have emerged on "development theory" since the 1950s. Though there are differences in the school, there appears to be one common theme: a belief that some parts of the world are "developed" and some are not, and that those who are not must seek out "development." Additionally, because "development" carries so many different connotations, it is necessary to indicate that I use the term "development" to mean social change or transformation that will better the lives of people in a specific society.4 To reiterate, here post-war development refers to the prevailing development theory, and "development" is defined as positive social change for members of a given society.

With those distinctions made, we can delve deeper into the principles and convictions of post-development theorists. The words of Wolfgang Sachs, a leading post-development scholar, are used often in literature on the new concept. In *The Development Dictionary*, he writes,

The idea of development stands like a ruin in

the intellectual landscape. Delusion, disappointment, failures and crimes have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work ... development has become outdated ... Nevertheless, the ruin stands there and still dominated the scenery like a landmark . . . It is time to dismantle this mental structure.⁵ The school of post-development emphasizes complete rejection of post-war development, not simply a revamping of the current model. Post-development theorists contend that the current post-war development model cannot be altered, and differences in its implementation will certainly not suffice for creating sustainable change. Post-war development must be dismissed in its entirety. Sally Matthews explains, "This rejection appears to emerge from a feeling that the negative consequences which have been observed to result from development are intrinsic to development, rather than being unintentional side-effects of it."6 Therefore, the failure of post-war development projects—that is, the lack of results achieved from the initiatives—is not the sole reason for post-developmentalists' rejection of the model. They believe that the principles on which post-war development is based are inherently flawed, and thus, the only solution is to do away with the entire form.

The question quickly arises "Why exactly does post-development reject post-war development projects?" The most obvious point of contention for post-development thinkers is this: "From the start, development's hidden agenda was nothing else than the Westernization of the world." Essentially, post-war development is criticized as an institution that commits ethnocide; a process that works to eliminate the indigenous culture of the people it is supposed to be serving. Post-development claims that post-war development imposes upon others a Western perspective which slowly homogenizes the global community, purging it of its diversity

that is precisely the aim of post-development theorists. They seek to initiate change by looking to locals as guides to problems, but more importantly to solutions.

At the core of post-development thought is the call for "alternatives to development," significantly different than the "alternative development" that other critics of post-war development advocate. As mentioned above, a key part of post-development theory is the commitment to involving locals in the process of identifying social problems and solutions. According to Arturo Escobar, UNC professor of anthropology, post-developmentalists share "an interest

The aspect of post-development that makes it qualitatively different from other theories is its outright rejection of all current "development" plans, rather than a revamping of them.

and culture. Serge Latouche, author of *In the Wake of the Affluent Society*, writes extensively on the Westernization that characterizes post-war development. He describes the West as "a steamroller crushing all cultures in its path." He goes on to say that the post-war development project implements the same responses and practices on all "underdeveloped" societies, and that typically, these responses encourage Western fundamentals of capitalism and democracy. Gustavo Esteva, in *The Development Dictionary*, asserts that post-war development's notion that certain people are "underdeveloped" has been

transmogrified into an inverted mirror of other's reality: a mirror that belittles them and sends them to the end of the queue, a mirror that defines their identity, which is really that of a heterogeneous and diverse majority, simply in the terms of a homogenizing and narrow minority.⁹

Post-development's rejection of the Westernization and homogenization of the Third World implies that projects and plans derived from this school work to reverse the above affects. In fact,

in local culture and knowledge; a critical stance towards established scientific discourses; and the defense and promotion of localized, pluralistic grassroots and movements." This notion of grassroots action is of importance when considering practical application of post-development thought. Empowering the locals by making their input essential to development is a priority for post-development advocates. The discourse also comments heavily on the autonomy of the locals. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, author of "After Post-development," explains,

Post-development parallels dependency theory in seeking autonomy from external dependency, but now taken further to development as a power/knowledge regime. Post-development faith in the endogenous resembles dependency theory and alternative development, as in the emphasis on self-reliance.¹¹

Dependency on outside forces, typically foreign financial aid, is a prominent characteristic of post-war development projects. The focus tends to be on obtaining capital from outside investors and utilizing it in programs to "develop" locals. Post-developmentalists oppose this dependency because it places the beneficiaries of the money under the control of the donor. Often, monetary loans are accompanied by conditions and stipulations that must be followed by the recipients, and the locals' autonomy is thus challenged because of these restrictions.

Overall, post-development's main objective is to reject post-war development in all its forms. As previously explained, it opposes the post-war development model because of its Western manipulation of culture and the diminishing effect it has on locals' autonomy. These two effects of post-war development are only parts of the larger argument against that school. Still, they are arguably the most significant, and thus the only aspects discussed above. Moreover, it is necessary to move onto an equally important component of the post-development debate: criticisms of the new discourse.

Critiques of Post-Development Theory

The post-development paradigm has come under criticism for several reasons. Mainly, it is said to promote disengagement almost to the point of indifference and deconstruction of development projects without any type of reconstruction. In other words, post-development encourages alternatives to development but is condemned for failing to conceptualize realistic alternatives. It is also scrutinized for "romanticizing the local," which results in disorganized, ineffective development projects. In looking at the opposition in the debate on post-development, the bigger picture can be better understood.

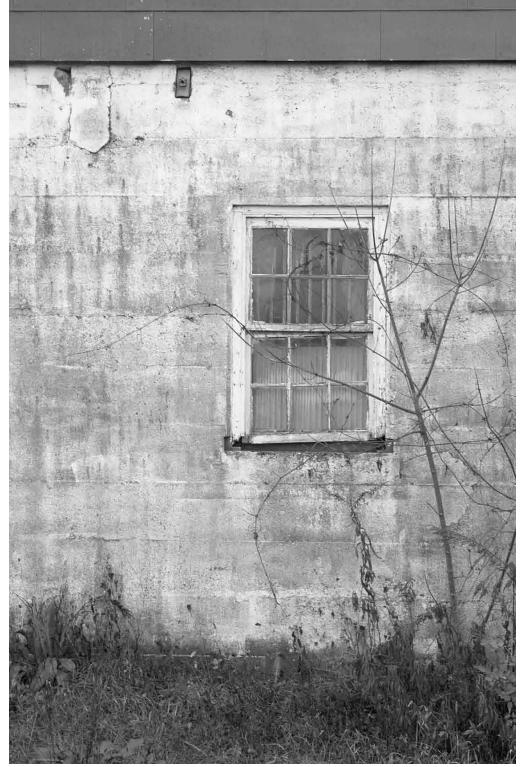
The most popular argument against post-development theory is its failure to produce any alternatives for the post-war development model. Post-development calls for the destruction of the "ruins" of development, but what has it offered as a substitute? Nederveen Pieterse labels alternatives to development as a "misnomer," stating that

There is no positive programme; there is a critique but no construction. "Post-development" is misconceived because it attributes to "development" a single and narrow meaning,

a consistency that does not match either theory or policy, and thus replicates the rhetoric of developmentalism, rather than penetrating and exposing its polysemic realities.¹² Critics like Nederveen Pieterse claim that by destroying the post-war development apparatus without building a plausible alternative, post-

destroying the post-war development apparatus without building a plausible alternative, postdevelopment is essentially promoting disengagement. It appears that post-development takes a "hands-off" approach that is interpreted as abandonment of the "underdeveloped" people. Marc Edelman, editor of The Anthropology of Development and Globalization, states, "The risk of celebrating a putative end of development is that 'anti-development' critiques could promote intellectual disengagement from increasingly brutal global inequalities."13 This critique suggests that post-development discourages serious academic thinking about alleged human rights violations or "primitive" practices that "hold back" communities. Again, critics feel that post-development theory encourages disengagement, both physically and mentally. Opponents of the discourse argue that post-development's rejection of post-war development is arbitrary and unconvincing. They believe that if post-development theorists cannot offer concrete steps for revamping the current model, then angrily dismissing post-war development appears fruitless and even juvenile.

Another widely held notion, and critique of post-development focuses on its perception of the local people it is aimed at assisting. Post-development theory places a great deal of responsibility on the locals to assist with designing development projects to meet needs that they have identified as priorities within their communities. The locals are also vital to the implementation and maintenance of any plans that are created. This dependence on locals is often mocked by post-development opposition. For example, Ray Kiely, a fierce opponent of post-development, writes scornfully, "Instead of a politics which critically engages with material inequalities, we have a post-development era where 'people should be nicer to each other."'14 Clearly, his tone works to undermine and disparage the post-development school of thought,



"Spaces #3" by Jessica Bandy



"Spaces #2" by Jessica Bandy

describing its philosophy in simple, colloquial terms. There are other similar commentaries on post-development. In his article, "Beneath the pavement only soil': the poverty of post-development," Stuart Corbridge describes how people's rule is crucial to post-development theory. He states,

Having stepped outside the diseased circles of Modernity, Science, Reason, Technology, Westernisation, Consumption, the Nation-State, Globalisation and Development, the peoples of the social majority can then make and rule their own lives at the grassroots. The key to a good life would seem to reside in simplicity, frugality, meeting basic needs from local soils, and shitting together in the commons.¹⁵

Again, the tone and sheer language of this statement illustrates blatant mockery of the new discourse. What the opponents are criticizing is the level of local involvement advocated by post-development. Kiely explains, "When more concrete alternatives are suggested the result is an uncritical, romantic celebration of the local which can have reactionary political implications." He goes on to explain that putting too much trust in local people can have severe consequences, arguing that members of the community are parts of larger power relations that may restrict local input and decision-making. Likewise, Nederveen Pieterse writes,

There are romantic and nostalgic strands to post-development and its reverence for community, *Gemeinschaft* and the traditional, and there is an element of neo-Luddism in the attitude towards science and technology. The overall programme is one of resistance rather than transformation or emancipation.¹⁷

Here, Nederveen Pieterse attacks post-development on almost every level, particularly the theory's concentration on local involvement. He implies that post-development is backward in its thinking, employing terms like *Gemeinschaft* and Luddism. Clearly, he and many other critics feel that post-developmentalists foolishly overemphasize the role locals play in development projects.

In conjunction with the critique of local participation is the critique of post-development's

lack of unity, not in the sense that there are variations in the discourse, but in that it is too culturally specific to have a common thread. Matthews points to a common argument in the post-development debate: "This kind of position opens post-development up to accusations that it embraces a politically problematic relativism, as this sort of assertion implies that there are no values that hold at all times in all places, but rather that different groups have different but equally valid value systems." The position she refers to is one in which an "outsider" refuses to criticize or condemn any type of cultural practice in the community in which he works. He always maintains respect of locals' values and beliefs. Critics claim that by taking such a firm stance on Now, however, it will offer a specific example of post-development in practice that ultimately refutes the criticisms explained above. First, I will offer readers an explanation as to why the African perspective is one through which post-development should be viewed. Second, I will provide a detailed account of a Senegalese NGO, Enda Graf Sahel (EGS), and its seemingly post-developmentalist underpinnings.

Post-Development from the African Perspective

The most difficult part of studying post-development is the lack of resources available on the topic. From an anthropological standpoint, the subject matter is frustrating in the least because

In essence, post-development comes under attack because it allegedly fails to produce the alternatives to development for which it calls.

cultural relativism, post-development theorists make it impossible to create a development plan that can be implemented in multiple societies, nor can they form ideals that allow for a single cohesive post-development organization. Therefore, those critics believe that tangible, consistent development projects cannot be produced by the post-development school because it is not unified enough to do so. Additionally, challengers equate the absence of a unified project with an aimless discourse. Nederveen Pieterse expands, "Post-development parallels postmodernism both in its acute intuitions and in being directionless in the end, as a consequence of its refusal to, or lack of interest in, translating critique into construction."19 Critiques maintain that post-development is devoid of purpose and direction, and that its assertions are futile and almost laughable.

In essence, post-development comes under attack because it allegedly fails to produce the alternatives to development for which it calls. Up until this point, this paper has taken a neutral stance, generalizing post-development as it attempts to explain both sides of the debate.

much of the research and literature employs sweeping generalizations and few, if any, case studies. Thus, the majority of the research used in this section comes from a single scholar, Sally Matthews of Rhodes University in South Africa. Matthews points out that there is very little written on post-development application in any part of Africa. In her essay, "Post Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa," she provides us with one of the only articles on how the discourse can be applied to the African experience.

Historically, the continent has been subject to countless post-war development projects, each one in the name of "progress" and "advancement." Matthews expresses her thoughts on the lack of post-development in African studies: "This is strange as it seems that many of the factors that led to the disillusionment of post-development theorists are prominent in Africa." As detailed previously, post-developmentalists reject post-war development's neglect of the environment, failure to produce results, and encouragement of Western culture. All of these things are present to varying degrees in

parts of Africa. Hundreds of organizations have expressed interest in the continent because they perceive it as "underdeveloped" and in need of foreign aid. Still, "no matter how one chooses to evaluate the performance of the PWWII development project in Africa, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it has failed abysmally." Consequently, most African communities that have experienced international intervention provide an excellent canvas onto which we can project post-development theory and practice.

Despite the obvious failings of the postwar development project in African countries, it still remains, with organizations like USAID and New Partnership for Africa's development continually creating and implementing projects. University of Aachen professor Aram Ziai supports this observation: "In the situation of development, societies in Africa are subordinated to the universalism of developed societies. The world is homogenized through the logic of the West."²² Post-war development theory has dominated African villages for decades, and only recently has there been a radical departure from that theory: post-development. Matthews writes, "The way in which African world-views and lifestyles differ from those of Western and Westernised regions, and the diversity of worldviews and lifestyles in Africa could provide useful insights for those concerned with describing such alternatives."23 As Matthews strongly suggests, we can and should look at parts of Africa through the post-development lens.

Enda Graf Sahel

With that said, the question is whether or not there are examples or cases of applied post-development anywhere in Africa. The short answer is no, there are virtually no self-avowed post-development organizations or projects currently. However, while it does not explicitly declare its philosophy as post-developmentalist, there exists one Senegalese NGO whose principles and practices very clearly exemplify those of post-development theory. By examining Enda Graf Sahel's mission statement and strategic guidelines, as well as a case study of conflict management in which EGS participated, we

can see how the group models a practical, valid alternative to post-war development, thereby answering the call of post-development theorists.

The very existence of Enda Graf Sahel (EGS) refutes the critique of post-development that claims no alternatives to post-war development have been found. Though the NGO does not directly state that it is a post-development organization, its aims are certainly derived from that school of thought. On its website, EGS writes, "Recently Enda has been committed to defining a communal vision, a group approach to run alongside the increasing autonomy and responsibilities of those who work in the organisation or with it."24 It boasts that its strategic guidelines are created on the people's terms, and their philosophy: "the way things are done is just important as what actually gets done."25 It is apparent that the focus on autonomy and local participation parallels post-development theorists almost exactly.

EGS is in fact one of twelve different groups under the larger network of Enda Tiers Monde. These groups implement projects that address everything from the urban youth to environmental degradation. Matthews explains the strategy utilized by EGS: "EGS tends to draw people who are already working in the community into their organizations . . . What is important in the choice of new staff members is their capacity to fit into existing social dynamics of change in the community."26 It is vital to their success that EGS hire men and women who are already a part of the social dynamics of which she speaks. It is very important so as not to disrupt the power relations that may be operating within a community. In this way, EGS combats the critics' accusations that these relations will limit community members' ability to contribute honestly to a project. The grassroots work done in the communities of Senegal have proven critics of post-development wrong; the theory is very much applicable to real life situations, which is seen in the effect it has had on the Senegalese population. Furthermore, with twenty-four teams in Dakar, twenty-one branches across the globe, and a European delegation, EGS

hardly promotes disengagement from the communities of Senegal.

As discussed above, post-war developmentalists often criticize post-development theory because it "romanticizes the local." Countless scholars have suggested that the culture and value systems of people in Africa are essentially wrong, and that those values hamper the success of post-war development projects. Yet, this assumption is highly contested by post-development theorists. Advocates Rahnema and Bawtree assert.

the people whose lives have often been traumatized by development changes do not refuse to accept change. Yet what they to Person B with the expectation that Person B will in turn give what he has in excess in proportion to the value of what he received from Person A . . . They assume that to give confers respectability on a person, and that Person A, who has in excess, will give without any expectation of a measurable and equivalent return, because the act of giving confers prestige.²⁸

Understanding the Senegalese view of giving and receiving is essential to successfully implementing a development project that meets the people's needs. If an "outsider" does not fully comprehend how exchanges are perceived by the Senegalese, the projects are likely to fail, as

The post-development school has accused post-war development of being a homogenizing structure, working to eradicate diversity within African cultures. Post-war development theory fails to recognize the differences in perspectives.

seek is of a quite different nature. They want change . . . that could leave them free to change the rules and the contents of change, according to their own culturally defined ethics and aspirations.²⁷

Now, post-war development scholars are correct in stressing that a project based on certain values cannot succeed in the absence of those values, i.e. a development project rooted in Western culture cannot work in a place like Senegal where that culture is lacking. However, post-war developmentalists are quick to suggest that the values must go, rather than the project.

Thus, the post-development school has accused post-war development of being a homogenizing structure working to eradicate diversity within African cultures. But post-war development theory fails to recognize the differences in perspectives, for example, in Senegal. Matthews explains the disparity:

Conventional development theorists presume that Person A will give what she has in excess

seen in the majority of post-war development projects. As we will see, EGS's post-development philosophies are congruent with this understanding of Senegal's value system.

By examining a 1994 program in which EGS participated, several things can be seen: first, the actual transformation the organization makes from post-war development theory to post-development thought. Second, how, by focusing on community involvement, and more specifically the diversity within the community, EGS is successful in initiating projects that cater to the real needs of the people. Third, readers discover how EGS counters opponents' claims that centering on the local results in a lack of unity and direction within a project.

In 1994, workshops were held in Dakar, Senegal and N'djamena, Chad to help with conflict management within those two communities. Two phases of the program, action-research and the development of action-research in the process of change, combined to "help those

involved in conflicts to turn situations of tensions in education, empowering situations, for themselves and others."²⁹ Enda Graf Sahel was an active participant in the project, joining with "popular organizations" or village associations, to use conflict management as a way of promoting change within the communities.

The program had several objectives, mainly to discover ways to deal with conflict among popular organizations which included ways of recognizing issues and discussing them, analyzing the conflicts, and choosing ways to manage them. The structure of the program was as follows: the participants came together and each had the opportunity to explain personal

conflicts he had experienced within his village. Participants were directed to avoid generalizing conflicts and encouraged to be as specific as possible with their personal experiences. As the report states, "The tone of the discussion was, "I will tell you about my conflict so that you can help me to understand it better and to progress. Then, tell me about your conflict." Then, after a large group conversation, participants divided into two groups and voted on which specific conflicts they wished to further discuss and solve.

The goals were first, "to help those involved in conflicts to turn a situation of tension into a situation of growth and education, and on the other hand, to explore the 'ins and outs' of such a process so as to achieve a similarly positive result."³¹ The collaborative nature of this program clearly demonstrates applied post-development thinking. The most advantageous part of this Senegalese project was its utilization of local knowledge in identifying disputes and discovering solutions, an aspect that post-war developmentalists surely oppose. EGS's involvement in this arguably post-development program was a turning point in its philosophy and practice. Now, members of EGS

see themselves as part of a process of research and experimentation with an aim radically to change our society, in the manner outlined above. The relationships



The Ladders" by Kenneth Barry

and programmes, developed by Enda Graf Sahel with other organizations, are no longer relationships based on aid or support, but rather alliances with a view of creating change together.32

This program helped transform EGS from a failing post-war development project into a post-development initiative that refutes the critiques of the new discourse. With the knowledge and experience gained from the conference in Dakar, EGS was able to revolutionize its organization in order to better meet the needs of the people it was serving.

Currently, EGS employs the conflict resolution skills it acquired during the workshops to calm tensions between popular organizations in

³⁵ One example of this process is EGS's efforts to legitimize the *noon* language, a spoken dialect of Seerer, a local Senegalese language. In Thies, Senegal, thousands recognize noon as their primary language; most often it is the only language noon speakers know. However, it was not always recognized as a national language. Through the efforts of EGS and their advocacy for the importance of *noon*, it is now an official national language. EGS also instituted noon literacy classes and even radio broadcasts in the language. This reassertion of a local dialect ultimately has changed the way the *noon* people perceive their culture. "By seeing their language being promoted, their assessment of the value of their culture heritage has changed, and they

With the invasion of Western culture, locals are exposed to what they do not have, and are subsequently labeled as "underdeveloped." Rather than accepting the continuous failure of post-war development projects, post-development theorists express a new view of community revival.

Senegalese villages. It promotes a similar forum for discussion, encouraged by the locals' ability to define and solve issues for themselves. While post-war development advocates condemn postdevelopment thought for allowing too much local input, EGS proves that its methods are, in fact, more beneficial to the community. Still, encouraging local participation and contribution is not always easy. Matthews writes, "Because many disadvantaged communities have had their own way of seeing the world denigrated, it is difficult for them to reject values and ideals which have effectively been imposed upon them and to reassert their own way of seeing the world."33 EGS works to instill in the locals confidence in their values and beliefs. Matthews refers to EGS's attempts to "emancipate themselves [locals] from the burden of received models" through a "revalorizing" process.³⁴,

are no longer ashamed of their language, and by extension of their culture and themselves."36 This small part of EGS's work illustrates how it has adopted post-development thinking and how that thinking has benefited local communities in Senegal.

Because post-development is criticized for overemphasizing the significance of local values, there arises skepticism of the unity and direction of a post-development project. Analyzing the reformation of EGS provides a powerful example of how a post-developmentalist organization can maintain its belief in local culture while creating a unified and resolute front. Throughout EGS's transformation, the organization faced the threat of becoming cultural imperialists, troubled by the challenge of maintaining Senegalese diversity without causing disconnect within the group. Just before the workshops of 1994, EGS instituted a policy of decentralization, allowing its sub-committees more independence in choosing strategies and plans. However, members soon began to feel divisions within EGS and became concerned with the lack of solidarity. EGS was trapped: "How does one manage to maintain sufficient sensitivity to difference and resist cultural imperialism without sacrificing an adequately detailed positive programme?"³⁷ Leaders of EGS finally sat down to discuss these matters and in 2005 concluded that "their intervention in the community, or indeed any intervention, could not be considered to be 'value neutral."38 Thus, their next task was to identify what EGS's core values are, resulting in a list that includes, among others, equity, autonomy, reflexivity, and environmental protection.

In addition, EGS created an organizational system to assist subcommittees in maintaining the group's values in all plans and projects. The Coordinating Council, for example, includes a representative from every sub-committee and works to loosely guide the groups towards EGS's common philosophies. Here, EGS models how a post-development organization can preserve its sensitivity to cultural diversity while still maintaining a single, cohesive unit. The Coordinating Council, in conjunction with newly implemented orientation sessions, is a creative, practical, and beneficial solution to the tension EGS was experiencing.³⁹ Enda Graf Sahel's organizational decisions clearly refute the post-development criticism that such an association would fail due to an undefined direction and a lack of unity.

There is an African proverb that reads, "You are poor because you look at what you do not have. See what you possess, see what you are, and you will discover that you are astonishingly rich."40 This verse does well to summarize the very essence of post-development theory and consequently, the aim of this paper. Postdevelopment theory is the complete rejection of the current post-war development model that is still widely utilized. Post-development theories blame the West for imposing its culture on indigenous peoples in attempts to demonstrate

the "underdevelopment" of the community. With the invasion of Western culture, locals are exposed to what they do not have, and are subsequently labeled as "underdeveloped." Rather than accepting the continuous failure of postwar development projects, post-development theorists express a new view of community revival. They call for alternatives to development, while advocating cultural sensitivity and local participation in initiative planning.

As post-development critiques post-war development, it too falls under the attack of opponents. Yet, in analyzing the Senegalese NGO Enda Graf Sahel, it is clear that its organizational structure and core philosophies prove to be a fully functioning and productive post-development project. While the group does not directly state its relationship to post-development theory, its actions and values exemplify an organization congruent with such thinking. The question now becomes, "Why has post-development theory not caught on in other parts of Africa and beyond?" It is ironic that so many post-war development projects have been implemented on the continent, yet post-development theorists have to this point failed to apply or even write about the theory's implications for African communities.

Though I have offered some brief examples of EGS's projects, additional investigation is needed to prove the success rates of these projects. Are its localized plans sustainable and effective, and can its methods be adapted to fit other communities in African countries and abroad? Or, have efforts already been made to implement post-development projects, simply without announcing the projects' affiliation to post-development theory? Consider another example of seemingly applied post-developmentalism: the work of SPARC, the National Slum Dwellers Federation and Mahila Milan in Mumbai, India. Its dependence on local knowledge and position as a supporting role in local development projects identifies it as a possible post-development coalition. Ultimately, it may be necessary to ignore the technical title of "post-development project" and look deeper into the philosophies and actions of current organizations to see tangible post-development application.



"Spaces #4" by Jessica Bandy

Fem-nomenology

By Deborah A.Z. Streahle

relevant to women, have had little place in philosophical discussion. By analyzing the body's role in existence, phenomenology—particularly Maurice Merleau-Ponty's philosophical contributions—gives feminists the tools to explore these historically neglected issues. Two compelling examples provide frameworks for understanding femininity and the body. By incorporating the lived body at the foundational level, feminists can encourage philosophical discourse to move beyond the limits of mind-body dualism.

Moral and practical issues concerning the body, particularly ones

"The world is not what I think, but what I live through."

-Maurice Merleau-Ponty¹

he body is a historically neglected entity, often to the particular detriment of women. In the tradition of his phenomenologist predecessors, Merleau-Ponty elucidates a philosophical approach that attempts to eliminate the mind-body distinction, resulting in a more convincing and holistic picture of the self. The purpose of this paper is to show how feminism stands to benefit from phenomenology. First I will discuss how the body is traditionally overlooked in the Western tradition. Then I will cover general ways in which Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approach expands our understanding of persons in ways that are relevant to feminists. Next I will introduce Iris Marion Young's essay, "Throwing Like a Girl," as an example of phenomenology's ability to shed light on important and often ignored issues, despite Dianne Chisholm's criticisms.² I conclude that a feminist philosophy will be

increasingly inclusive if it adopts and explores phenomenology in the way both Young and Chisholm successfully do.

The Neglected Body

Philosophical conversations presupposing a mind-body dualism can be traced back to Plato's era. The traditional dualist picture of the self parallels the separation between the spiritual and material worlds. This has been the dominant ontology throughout the modern philosophical period. This duality often privileges the mind over the body and locates the self as primarily in the mind. As a result, the body is seen as in opposition to and subordinate to the mind.³ The body is often associated with limitations—illness, mystery, and unending desire.4 Conceived as both a problem and as an entity separate from the mind, philosophy has neglected to focus on the body as a legitimate locus for understanding the self.

The body also has a gendered history: "women, besides *having* bodies, are also *as-*

sociated with the body, which has always been considered woman's "sphere" in family life, in mythology, in scientific, philosophical, and religious ideology."5 Consequentially, moral and practical issues concerning the body, particularly ones relevant to women, have had little philosophical place for discussion.⁶ Issues such as abortion, pornography, domestic violence, eating disorders, and physical disabilities are all subordinate to concerns of the mind—truth, knowledge, morality, etc. In addition, when women are associated with the weak and limiting body, how can philosophy take women's theorizing seriously? There is evidence that mind-body dualism is somewhat responsible for the historical absence of women in the field.

The implications of this oversight are extensive. Although philosophy has recognized the body's role in existence, mind-body dualism has reduced its importance and thus estranged it from the tradition. Embodiment is an essential aspect of human existence and

"Without Bodies #3" by Jessica Bandy

overlooking its relevance to philosophy results in a distinctly detached method of theorizing in philosophy that has provided a limited picture of the world. This detachment continues to emphasize an exclusive and harmful intellectualism. The philosophical majority position not only excludes alternative viewpoints, it leaves a lasting mark on the body—repressed bodies express their exclusion and silence in a number of hurtful ways.

Phenomenal Benefits

The study of phenomenology, particularly Maurice Merleau-Ponty's contributions, has the potential to overcome the metaphysical oversight of the body's relevance and thus, include women and their bodies in the philosophical tradition. In Phenomenology of Perception Merleau-Ponty provides a theoretical framework that emphasizes embodied characteristics as vital to personhood and agency. I will briefly discuss aspects of his theory that are relevant to feminist philosophy.⁷

Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology begins with lived experience. He is concerned with how individuals perceive the world. For him, embodiment is a fundamental aspect of experience. The self is a lived body experienced in immanence and transcendence—as a unique self and as able to extend beyond itself in relation to the world. Consciousness and embodiment are inseparable; consciousness informs the body as much as the body informs conscious thought: "rather than a mind and a body, man is a mind with a body, a being who can only get to the truth of things because its body is, as it were, embedded in those things." In this way, mind-body dualism is minimized in Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology.

The concept of the self as embedded in the world is vital to Merleau-Ponty's theory. Our basic presence is a self-awareness of consciousness and physicality that informs our body image. Merleau-Ponty describes the lived body as an agent that is able to orient itself towards other things in multiple possible ways. The self is "subtended by an 'intentional arc' which projects round about us our past,

our future, our human setting, our physical, ideological and moral situation, or rather which results in our being situated in all these respects."9 Our actions depend on our relationships to things in our environment, which we perceive through our potential intention to interact with objects. Objects are inseparable from the intentional meaning we give them. In this way the self is transcendent—it extends

requires self-awareness, but also an ability to relate to the world, to transcend the self by imagining oneself in a variety of possible interactions with the world. The body both experiences immanence and transcendence.

This picture of us is a much better reflection of humans as agents in the world than what mind-body dualism describes because it accounts for a dialogue between the physi-

What constitutes the feminine has not been the domain of philosophy, and if it has, it has usually excluded women from the writing of their own history and analysis.

beyond as a unique boundary, as a border and as a link to the world. Here Merleau-Ponty's illustrates his theory:

There is my arm seen as sustaining familiar acts, my body as giving rise to determinate action having a field or scope known to me in advance, there are my surroundings as a collection of possible points upon which this bodily action may operate,—and there is, furthermore, my arm as a mechanism of muscles and bones, as a contrivance for bending and stretching, as an articulated object, the world as pure spectacle into which I am not absorbed, but which I contemplate and point out.¹⁰

As shown, the self is more than the sum of its parts; its consciousness and physicality are accounted for as part of the whole. The environment is the known relational space and a domain of potentiality through which the body acts. The self is integrated into its environment in both conscious and physical ways. The arm acts on behalf of the whole self as an arm in motion reflecting the "acquired worlds" of motile memory.¹¹ It is a physical extension of the body's "attitude directed towards a certain existing or possible task." There is a balance between (what traditional philosophers see as) the mind and the body. The lived body

cal and the mental. Some theories of mindbody dualism cannot explain the relationship between mind, body, self and world. This is a problem for understanding the self as a person and as an actor. Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology illustrates a theory of the self that is holistic rather than piecemeal. His focus on the lived body restores the body to its rightful position in philosophy. His contribution to phenomenology is beneficial for feminist philosophers because it helps feminists analyze a culture that emphasizes difference based aspects of our bodies. This is particularly refreshing for those who find no place for women's issues in traditional theories. I will discuss this in more detail in the next section.

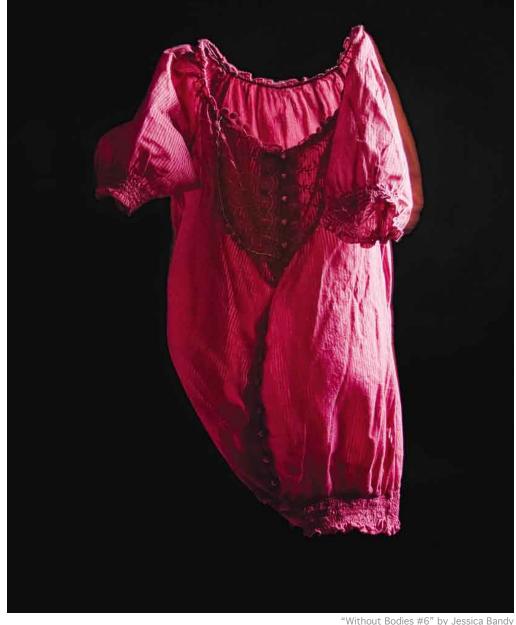
Feminist Phenomenology

Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological emphasis on analyzing the body's role in existence gives feminists the tools to explore historically neglected issues of the body. Iris M. Young's essay, "Throwing Like a Girl," builds on Merleau-Ponty's and Simone de Beauvoir's accounts of phenomenology in order to address the feminine. Young's account is an example of how phenomenology can lead to philosophical discussion of women's issues. By describing the feminine phenomenologically, Young helps

break down a barrier for women in philosophy, and provides philosophical information about gendered and sexed bodily experience.

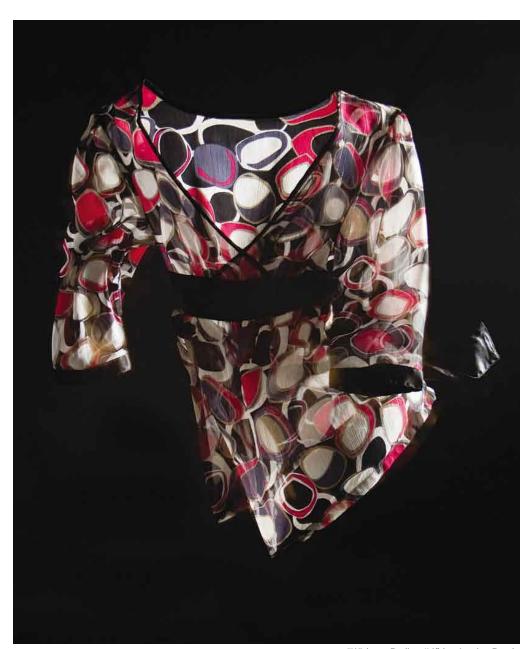
As Young notes, the "feminine" is a historically and culturally constructed term. Historically in literature, philosophy, medicine, and everyday life, people referred to femininity as a categorical catch-all for all unexplainable aspects of women's lives. As a result, the few accounts of what it is like to be a woman have been viewed through the singular lens of femininity—unique characteristics, stories, medical conditions all fell under this label. What constitutes the feminine has not been the domain of philosophy, and if it has, it has usually excluded women from the writing of their own history and analysis. Considering the association of the body with weakness and women with the body, it is not surprising that "feminine," a term normally designated for women, represents a somewhat lacking experience.

The feminine, for Young, is not something biologically determined. Young views femininity as an inhibited style of existence, opposed to the freedom and openness of the masculine style. Young's essay explores basic modalities of feminine embodiment with the goal of demystifying the femininity expressed by women in a "contemporary advanced industrial, urban, and commercial society."13 In her examples, Young concentrates on particular actions that involve the whole body as it seeks to complete particular tasks, such as throwing a ball, because these actions provide the best instances for a phenomenological account. Femininity is a style of behavior expressed by most Western women but not all. Citing de Beauvoir, Young argues, "Every human existence is defined by its situation; the particular existence of the female person is no less defined by the historical, cultural, social, and economic limits of her situation."14 However, in the same paragraph Young also recognizes women as unified by something "specific to a particular social formation during a particular historical epoch."15 By acknowledging both difference and unity among women, Young builds a strong foundation for her phenomenological analysis.



Young diagnoses feminine inhibition as a "tension between immanence and transcendence."16 Merleau-Ponty discusses immanence and transcendence through his description of the self as a "pure presence" that is connected to one's environment, which one sees as an extension of possible avenues for the self.¹⁷ He describes a sense of wholeness, knowledge

of one's body, and a sense of free interaction with the world that Young argues the feminine actor lacks. Women have a hesitating sense of flow and interaction with the world because they are constantly self-aware of themselves as objects. They cancel the possibility of completing a task before they even start it. There is a realm of possibility, but it is disconnected



"Without Bodies #4" by Jessica Bandy

from the self, it is someone else's possibility. With an inhibited sense of intentionality and ambiguous transcendence, feminine motion contradicts itself and thus, actions are completed hesitatingly. The body is stuck in immanence, and only partially extended in transcendence; neither is fully expressed and a balance is not achieved.

Young further argues that, as a result of occupying an unbalanced space between immanence and transcendence, the self is seen as both a subject and object, both looked at and acted upon. ¹⁹ Action is perceived as happening to them, and not as an engaging activity. The feminine body has a disrupted sense of unity because the body is seen in parts, and motion is

seen as carried out in these parts discretely, rather than as a part of a whole. They live as objects instead of lived bodies, feeling segregated from their environment and disconnected from the potential avenues of action surrounding them. Historically used as a tool for masculine goals, the feminine body lacks a sense of control over itself. They see themselves in the mind-body dualist tradition—as having minds and having bodies, but not as a whole self with uninhibited agency. Instead their agency is thwarted.

Young's discussion of space also exemplifies the notion of the inhibited feminine body. Feminine women tend to act in an enclosed space, with a feeling of the self's space and the space of the action as separate, and are stuck in a particular space. Young cites numerous examples to support this: the use of only some of the body to complete a physical task, recoiling in fear of getting hurt (the feminine as fragile), receiving an action rather than engaging with it, acting within a small protected space, hyper-self-awareness, the worry of appearing awkward or too strong, perception of the self as weak, low expectations and thus lack of effort, lack of self-trust, lack of practice performing tasks.²⁰ The tension between immanence and transcendence, along with conceptions of space particular to women, provide compelling philosophical descriptions of the empirical characteristics of many women.

A Critique

Young's account of the feminine, though useful, does not stand unchallenged. In her essay, "Climbing Like a Girl," Dianne Chisholm argues that Young's characterization of the feminine does not accommodate change and difference in the expression of femininity over the years since Young first wrote her essay in 1980.²¹ Chisholm argues that Young presents the feminine through "a restrictive history that fails to account for the phenomenology of their 'ascendance' in new realms of freedom and existence." Chisholm argues that the femininity Young describes does not typify "all women at all times" and that Young's "feminine" is presented unfairly as something in

strict contrast to masculinity, dictated by it. ²³ Chisholm is not looking to prove society has overcome its gender biases, rather she attempts to show women's bodily interactions have ascended to a degree since Young's essay, and that performing an action "like a girl" does not have to be synonymous with inhibition.

Chisholm focuses on the case of Lynn Hill, a professional climber. According to Chisholm, hill transcends gender constraints by climbing in her own distinct way specific to her smaller, "feminine" build. Chisholm uses Hill as a counter example to Young's description of the feminine, and as an example of what women "can do beyond embodying gender":24 "Hill exemplifies, above all, how she or any woman can climb like a girl most capably and adventurously without endorsing and performing femininity (or masculinity) even as she lives in a hyper-masculinized world."25 Chisholm's point is that Hill's lived body extends beyond traditional femininity, while still exemplifying characteristics of a girl. Chisholm does not clearly describe the difference between "like a girl" and "feminine"; however, it seems Chisholm means climbing like a girl is a style not able to be categorized as feminine or masculine, yet one that still acknowledges gender difference. Hill climbs like a girl, using the characteristics of her sexed body, in contrast to her masculine fellow climbers. Where men are forceful, she treads more carefully. Instead of following the male lead, she and other women climb in an opposing manner more individually suited to their bodies. Her embodiment is not limited. Hill experiences free, balanced transcendence and immanence.

As a very successful free climber, Hill stands as an example of the possibility that women can achieve unrestrained motility by overcoming the feminine. The strength of Chisholm's essay is that the term feminine may not only come to express uninhibited unity and motility, and thus extend beyond the negative historical meaning that Young describes, but that the term feminine could eventually be abandoned. Chisholm argues that women can learn to climb like a girl, or do anything like a girl, without exemplifying femininity. It is the term fem-

inine itself, not the women who exemplify it, that is inherently limited. To describe only two possibilities, masculine and feminine, is to ignore others and those in between. It seems the typical meaning of feminine has not changed drastically since Young's essay was published. Young's description still resonates women, particularly college-age ones, as she notes in her follow-up essay, "Throwing Like a Girl: Twenty Years Later."26 Not only do women still feel and act in the inhibited manner Young describes, popular culture via media echo and reinforce her phenomenological account of femininity.²⁷ Like the problem of mind-body dualism, gender dualism is equally destructive The feminine cannot disentangle itself from history. But it is possible to transcend it in a way similar to Chisholm's example.

Where Young describes the current situation, Chisholm imagines the future based on a current example. She argues that not only can we re-appropriate the feminine for positive meaning, but also that women can transcend

is a way we are currently situated in society. Recognizing the limitations of gender is vital in a tradition where gender has been a cause of prejudice. Her discussion proves the benefit of phenomenology in uncovering and explaining issues of women's concern.

Phenomenology is in the process of reshaping feminists' philosophical foundations. Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology has encouraged both Chisholm's and Young's discussions of an observable style of behavior in women on the philosophical level. Both feminist approaches to phenomenology have been useful in strengthening feminist goals in different ways. Though conflicting at some points, both accounts give a philosophical place and voice to women's bodies. Feminist philosophy has already benefited from their adoption and adaptation of phenomenology. By incorporating the lived body at the foundational level, feminists will perhaps be able to further general philosophical discourse that has been limited by mind-body dualism. Theories of moral

Women have the ability to reshape their style, to individualize their movement and resituate themselves as freely engaged beings in the world.

a limiting view of gender and still be women. Women have the ability to reshape their style, to individualize their movement and resituate themselves as freely engaged beings in the world. Femininity might always be associated with a constrained picture of motility; therefore, women must overcome the category. There is room for moving beyond feminine.

On some phenomenological level it is possible to abstract to a level where people are people, rather than gendered and sexed beings. Young has built on Merleau-Ponty's less explicitly gendered theory to demonstrate concrete examples of women's historical subjugation through analysis of their bodies in relation to action. Young focuses on the gendered body in her phenomenological account because this

justification, for instance, are problematic in part because of their ignorance of the body. Working in a phenomenological context, feminists can work to achieve a more accountable ethical system and provide a more accurate reflection of people as actors in the world.

As shown here, matters of the body have a lasting impact on theories of experience. Developing a philosophical approach to account for the body's role is vital. Disembodied theorizing can only provide an incomplete picture of us as actors in the world. Phenomenology helps achieves important feminist goals by accommodating a multiplicity of experiences. Merleau-Ponty's account moves beyond mind-body dualism and forges an avenue for discussion where none existed before.

Jacob Lawrence:

MAINSTREAM ACCEPTANCE ROOTED IN WIDESPREAD MISUNDERSTANDING



Figure 1: "The Migration of the Negro: Panel 60" by Jacob Lawrence

By Catherine Higgins

Harlem Renaissance artist Jacob Lawrence garnered critical acclaim in large part due to widespread misunderstanding of his work. He was mislabeled a Social Realist, which afforded him early and sustained popularity, but also created a limited understanding of his work and legacy. It was not until Abstract Expressionists came to the forefront of the art scene in the mid-twentieth century that Lawrence's true importance as the link between the European Modernists and the American Abstract Expressionists was realized.

he American art world is elitist. This has never been and never will be a secret. Less often remembered is the fact that the art world is also a part of mainstream culture. As such it is subject to many of the same prejudices and biases that have plagued America as a whole. Racism against African-Americans in the opening decades of the twentieth century was as great a problem within artistic circles as it was within mainstream society. Therefore, it was vitally important when Jacob Lawrence, with his series "The Migration of the Negro," not only became the first black artist to gain recognition from a mainstream, white gallery, but that he did so with a series focused on a narrative central to African-American history.1

Lawrence's mainstream acceptance was largely due to a series of fortuitous encounters with rare members of the art world who were able to see his talent over his skin color. In 1940, Lawrence applied for, and received, his first grant from the Rosenwald Foundation, an organization founded in 1917 by Julius Rosenwald, the president of Sears.²

Rosenwald contributed generously to many philanthropic pursuits throughout his life and took a particular interest in the advancement of African-Americans. Although his funding was directed primarily towards the construction of schools in economically disadvantaged portions of the south, he was also known for providing artist grants like the one received by Lawrence.³ The money was specifically intended to fund Lawrence's creation of the series "The Migration of the Negro," the work responsible for garnering him widespread recognition.

Equally important to the historical narrative of this artwork was Jacob Lawrence's relationship with Alain Locke, "a philosophy professor and critic who became a major chronicler of the Harlem Renaissance."

Locke not only encouraged the black artists with whom he was in contact to use their work to explore their cultural identity, he was also integral to their efforts to disseminate their work to a wider audience. Lawrence first met Locke during his teenage years when he was creating his early works in the legendary "306 Studio" of his mentor Charles Alston.
It was Locke who, in 1941 while Lawrence

was on his honeymoon with fellow artist Gwendolyn Knight, brought "The Migration of the Negro" series to the attention of Edith Halpert, the innovative and incredibly influential dealer at New York's Downtown Gallery.⁶ And so, Lawrence became the first African-American artist to receive representation from a well-known and stereotypically white gallery.

Although Lawrence gained acceptance early in his career and maintained his place in the art world in the many decades to follow, his acceptance by the Downtown Gallery, and the museums that gained notice soon after, did not come without a host of racially grounded limitations. In his famous "Migration" series, Lawrence combined a modernist formal aesthetic with an expressionistic approach to personal and culturally-loaded subject matter. Although galleries and museums promoted his work, the critical writing of the period, as well as of the following two or three decades, showed a certain narrow-mindedness in the way his work was analyzed and understood. On one hand, he was very distinctly labeled a Negro artist. On the other, critics made many attempts to understand him within the context of the leading Regionalist and Social

Realist trends prevailing among contemporary white American painters. The universality of his forms and his themes and the relationship between his work and the early twentieth-century European Modernists went largely unobserved. Despite his widespread acceptance, people's understanding of his work was limited as a result of the racism ingrained in American society. It wasn't until after the rise of Abstract Expressionism and the Civil Rights movement that Lawrence's work began garnering the critical notice it deserved.

In order to understand what aspects of Lawrence's work went largely unnoticed, it is imperative to first understand the elements of his work that led to his initial acceptance by members of the mainstream art elite. It is especially important to understand why it was Lawrence in particular who gained this acceptance. Why did Lawrence gain widespread recognition so quickly while other members of the artist community from which he came worked in relative anonymity for

of the Negro" series were in essence very different from the work produced by many of his African-American contemporaries. Undeniably, Lawrence's work was framed in traditional and personal African-American narratives, and exhibited some of the formal primitiveness largely attributed to African art. However, at its core "The Migration of the Negro" was art produced by a black artist rather than Black art.

African and African-American art were traditionally thought of as decorative, deriving in large part from a long tradition of textile making. Another element commonly associated with Black art was the formal primitivism characteristic of African tribal masks, which had been canonized by Picasso's early Cubist explorations in the first decade of the twentieth century. Although both of these aspects were present in Lawrence's "Migration of the Negro," they were not the defining characteristics of this series, as they were in the works of many of his contemporaries. For example,

African-Americans were citizens in name only; in reality they were much more citizens of their own tightly-knit, richly storied sub-community.

much longer? The answer comes largely in the form of Edith Halpert. The solo show at the Downtown Gallery that established Lawrence's career was originally to be part of a multi-gallery showing intended to showcase the work of many of Harlem's best artists. However, every other gallery originally involved pulled out one by one, mostly due to economic factors, until Halpert's exhibition of Lawrence's "Migration of the Negro" was all that remained. Rather than cancel the showing, Halpert continued forward with her original vision, effectively launching the career of Jacob Lawrence.⁷

Halpert's influence, however, was not the only factor at work. It is of significance that the pieces forming Lawrence's "Migration

the work of fellow Harlem artist Ernest Crichlow featured a much greater degree of abstraction than that of Lawrence. The focus of Crichlow's work became the abstracted elements themselves rather than the objects comprised by those elements. The abstraction was no longer a means to an end, as it was for Lawrence; it was an end in and of itself. Such focus on compositional and decorative concerns was identified as being "more African" than work that was constructed in other modes, based on different structural and narrative concerns. Not surprisingly, Crichlow's first solo show did not come until 1960, almost twenty years later than that of Jacob Lawrence.8

Racism was so ingrained in the cultural fabric of 1940s white America that art

originating purely from traditionally African formal conventions dealing with the histories and cultural norms of African-American citizens was not seen as an integral part of American culture. African-Americans were citizens in name only; in reality they were much more citizens of their own tightly-knit, richly storied sub-community. Their historical narrative, and the art produced in reaction to and as a result of it, was seen as distinctly separate from American history, and was, to many, largely unimportant to the culture and historical narratives of America. It goes almost without saving that at the time the phrase "American culture" referred almost explicitly to the culture of white America.

Therefore, the specific scenes Lawrence chose to illustrate in "The Migration of the Negro" were of utmost importance to his success: Leslie King-Hammond states that "Lawrence drew thematic inspiration from his immediate environment," while many of his contemporaries drew inspiration from memories of their "lives and experiences in the South."9 The imagery used in "The Migration of the Negro" series dealt with the racial injustices of past and present but did not dwell upon them. Instead, Lawrence focused on the positive potentialities of the mass migration northward, though admittedly still with a consciousness that life in the north came with its own special brand of hardships for African-American migrants. However, even in the panels in which Lawrence handled the most sensitive subject matter, he prudently chose to illustrate the least hostile element

Specifically, panel fifteen of his series focused on the harsh realities of lynching (see Figure 2). Lawrence chose to position an empty noose above a mourning figure rather than portraying a lynched figure or a hostile lynch mob, the latter of which was the choice made by several of his contemporaries who handled similar themes. The caption for the panel read, "Another cause was lynching. It was found that where there had been a lynching, the people who were reluctant to leave at

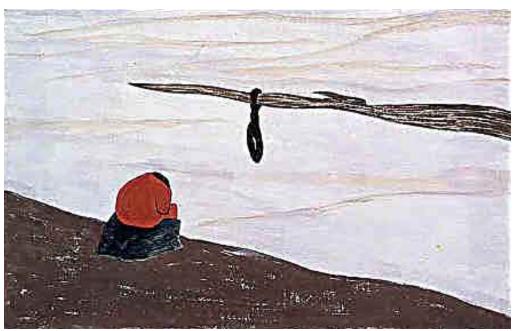


Figure 2: "The Migration of the Negro: Panel 15" by Jacob Lawrence

first left immediately after this." Rather than focusing on the hostile interactions between white supremacists and African-Americans, Lawrence chose to highlight the pain and loss such conflicts created. Moreover, the phrases he paired with the painting emphasized his belief in the possibility that the injustice and pain of the past has the potential to lead to positive change. In Lawrence's construct, fear pushed African-Americans to migrate northward, but in the end afforded them the opportunity to create a better life.

Panel fifteen is but one example of many; overall Lawrence chose to define racially sensitive situations positively rather than in negative terms. In doing so, he was able to create a body of work that addressed important social and personal issues without alienating a white audience. In his "Migration" series, Lawrence catalogued an important part of America's history without hyperbolically victimizing or vilifying either party involved. Moreover, he did so more successfully than his contemporaries, which helps to explain his acceptance in contrast to their overwhelming lack-thereof. Such racial sensitivity was imperative to his achieving a positive reaction from a white general public.

The narrative construction of Lawrence's "Migration of the Negro" also played an integral role in his ability to garner widespread, mainstream acceptance. Early critical writings focused on perceived connections between his "Migration of the Negro" and the work of American Social Realists, and to a lesser extent, Regionalists. Pervasive racism prevented most Americans from recognizing the artistic potential and importance of work characterized purely as Black art. Consequently, by relating his work to that of already-mainstream white artists, critics essentially sanctioned general acceptance of Lawrence's work.

In reality, the associations drawn between Lawrence and the artists comprising the Social Realist and Regionalist schools were facile at best. This is not to say that his work bore no relation to the works of the Social Realists and Regionalists. However, it was not nearly as deeply related to the works produced by artists of those movements as early writings on "The Migration of the Negro" indicated. Like the artists of those movements, he composed "The Migration of the Negro" so that it formed a linear narrative unfolding from the first panel to the sixtieth. However,

such narrative structure was nothing new in the tradition of art history. It dates back, at the very least, to the medieval biblical frescoes that cover many of the church walls in Italy. Additionally, Lawrence's work bore little to no resemblance stylistically to the work produced by either the Social Realists or the Regionalists.

Given the tenuous nature of the connections made in an attempt to validate Lawrence's work, why did critics accept him? Again, the focus turns to Edith Halpert. She had the foresight and the power to push Lawrence and his work to the forefront in 1941. The critics had to say something. By this point the aesthetics of African primitivism had become sufficiently well-known and accepted by the New York art scene due to the overwhelming success of Picasso and Braque's Cubist project, and the Social Realists had legitimized the place of narrative in the tradition of American art. As a result, neither content nor form was a sufficient reason for racially biased critics to dismiss Lawrence's work. All they could think to do was to find a way to make his work fit in with the narrative and formal trends popular at the time, and by doing so, they essentially guaranteed his initial popularity within mainstream art circles. Lawrence achieved popularity but not understanding.

Ironically, by drawing connections between Lawrence's work and the work of the contemporary Social Realists, critics effectively marginalized Lawrence. They were unable to understand the universalism, also central to the Modernist's explorations, truly at work in Lawrence's panels because they were blinded by color. His aesthetic was in part primitive, thereby allowing critics to label him a "Negro artist."11 The narrative aspects of his work afforded critics the opportunity to compare him to the Social Realists. However, he was never considered a member of the Social Realist movement. This was due in part, I hope, to the fact that his work was not truly of that school, but in reality the distinction appears to be mostly racially drawn. Separate but equal was not just for schools and subway cars. It was for the art world as well. And as it was for



Figure 3: "The Migration of the Negro: Panel 11" by Jacob Lawrence

the schools and the subway cars and the water fountains, separation occurred but equality rarely followed. The mainstream art world was willing to accept the work of an African-American, but only so long as they were allowed to characterize the artist, and his art, as different. Different, inevitably meaning lesser.

It would be decades until critics and art historians fully understood the true formal and narrative importance of Lawrence's body of work and "The Migration of the Negro" series in particular. This begs the question, then, of how Lawrence kept a prominent role in the art world despite the limited understanding of his work and his work's true significance. The answer is multifaceted. In part, he did not. His work became secondary to the purely formal work of the Abstract Expressionists, a movement that reached maturity around the year 1950. Narrative work no longer had a place in the elite art world.

Lawrence, nevertheless, did not disappear from view completely, due in large part to the

work he produced during a nine-month stint as a patient in a New York psychiatric ward.¹² During this time the balance between formal and narrative elements in his work began to shift, with a greater emphasis placed on the decorative surface patterning he created within his compositions. Auspiciously for Lawrence, the acceptance of early Abstract Expressionism that occurred in the five years following the original acceptance of his "Migration of the Negro" series had significantly altered critical opinions of the primitive. The primitive aesthetic had come to be legitimized as an academic style, no longer viewed solely as the work of an uneducated people or a style appropriated by early Modernists to imitate the work of an uneducated people. Critics slowly began to understand the relation between Lawrence's abstracted forms and those created by the early twentieth-century European Modernists. What before had been attributed to a racially-based development came to be seen instead in its relation to a greater global narrative of art history.

Critics began to write about the similarities between Lawrence's simplified, flattened forms and the ones used earlier by Matisse and Cezanne. The similarities between Lawrence's work and the work of these two Europeans are particularly evident in their figural treatments. All three artists tended to simplify their figures in general forms and then render them with one flat, solid color. In Lawrence's "Migration of the Negro" series this is most evident in the panels in which he renders crowds of migrants, particularly the first panel and the sixtieth one (see Figure 1).

Furthermore, the expressionistic quality of Lawrence's narratives came to be seen in relation to the works of the German Expressionists rather than in relation to the works of the American Social Realists. His use of vibrant saturated color to render scenes of Harlem street life bore particular similarity to the way in which Ernst Kirchner, of the Die Brücke arm of German Expressionism, constructed pictorial representations of urban life.

However, the relation between Lawrence's work and the work of early European Modernists still represents only a partial understanding of the true vitality and importance of his work. The full importance of Lawrence's work continued to be misunderstood. Critics still vainly attempted to classify Lawrence as belonging to one movement or another. Although elements of Lawrence's work do relate to, and derive from, elements characteristic of other movements, it is effectively impossible to characterize his work within any one of these movements. It is the symbiotic coexistence of seemingly disparate art historical trends within Lawrence's "Migration of the Negro" that gave the piece its power. This is also exactly the reason his work did not begin to be fully understood or appreciated until decades afterward.

Although the rise of the Abstract Expres-

sionists overshadowed Lawrence's continued artistic production at first, it eventually came to be largely influential in the development of a renewed critical interest in his abstracted narratives. This influence was due in large part to the ways in which both Lawrence and the leading Abstract Expressionists spoke about their work in interviews, and in the case of the Abstract Expressionists those interviews that focused specifically on the emotional content of their work. Notably, interviews with the Abstract Expressionists focusing on the emotional quality of their work did not begin in earnest until the early 1970s, more than a full decade after large-scale interest in the movement had waned. The delay resulted from the fact that early writings on Abstract Expressionism, predominantly those by leading critics Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg, were more concerned with the complete lack of representational base in the works of the Abstract Expressionists, and it came to be assumed that their work was not grounded in any emotional narrative. Rosenberg went as far as to dub them the "American Action Painters," effectively delineating their collective body of work as one focused on formal process rather than conceptual or contextual meaning.

It was not until the Abstract Expressionists themselves began to speak about their work that it became evident that their work was about more than formal process. The fact that the link between the work of the early European Modernists and the American Abstract Expressionists was hinged on the transitory work of Jacob Lawrence was discovered because of the eventual discussions that developed about the intellectual preoccupations behind the Abstract Expressionists' formal explorations. It has been long accepted that the artistic production of the early European Modernists centered on their desire to distill art into its universal forms. They sought to create an ahistorical kind of art, an art centered in objective qualifications rather than subjective ones. Less well known and less accepted were the aims at universality driving the artistic production of many of the Abstract Expressionists. Mark Rothko, "in a

as depictions of African-American histories. They failed to understand the universal implications of Lawrence's stories. However, it is this very universality that allows Lawrence's work, particularly "The Migration of the Negro" series as it was created just before the rise of the Abstract Expressionists, to exist as the best link between the early century work of the European Modernists and the midcentury work of the Abstract Expressionists.

The critical universality of Lawrence's work was not fully understood until Lawrence began to grant more interviewers the opportunity to speak with him in the 1980s and early 1990s. Lawrence had always been characteristically terse about his work. He made comments indicating his displeasure with being understood in racially limiting terms; however, he made no attempt to change how his work was viewed. He understood, and in part accepted, the racial limitations of the age

whole. Gates also asked Lawrence if his art developed as a reaction to an internalized Du Bois-ian double consciousness derived from existing simultaneously as an African-American and an American. Lawrence's answer was extraordinarily telling. For Lawrence, no double consciousness or double history of the African-American existed. Each side of consciousness was integral to the American narrative and each was also dependent on the other for existence.16 His work was not about the black experience; it was about the human experience, and "The Migration of the Negro" was not solely about the Negro migration, but about the causes and implications of the migration of any peoples. It took the development of the Abstract

Expressionist movement as well as the uprising of the Civil Rights movement for Jacob Lawrence's true place within the historical narrative of art history to be realized. In his work, Lawrence brought together the formal abstraction and the narrative expression characteristic of the two disparate trends of early Modernism. His narrative sequence in "The Migration of the Negro," as well as in many of his other works, successfully framed an essential piece of African-American history in a context weighted with universal implications. Early misunderstandings led to Lawrence's widespread acceptance. Critical revisions in how Lawrence's work has been viewed not only reveal its true implications and importance, but also show how much still remains to be understood. Art critics still do their best to categorize Lawrence, to attribute his styles and his narratives to being of one school or another. Surely, I am in part guilty of the same despite my goal of breaking through such limiting boundaries. Only when Lawrence is seen as a transitory figure who dealt not with African-American narratives but with human ones and as an artist whose work developed as a reaction to, and a culmination of, many different threads of artistic development will the racial bias which has tainted the understanding of his work for so long truly have been lifted.

Separate but equal was not just for schools and subway cars. It was for the art world as well. And as it was for the schools and the subway cars and the water fountains, separation occurred but equality rarely followed.

now famous tirade, admitted: 'I'm interested only in expressing basic human emotions." 14

Early Modernists strove for a universality of form while the Abstract Expressionists worked towards creating work that contained universally understandable emotional content. Though both groups sought to discover the presence of universal truths in art, there outwardly appeared to be little similarity in their aims. This is where the true importance of Jacob Lawrence's work is revealed. Lawrence made use of the stylized, universal forms championed by the European Formalists. He also created universally applicable narratives. Early critical analysis of his work, tainted by the biases of racism, viewed his narratives

in which he lived.¹⁵ The Civil Rights movement, however, changed America. A new critical eye was brought to the work done by African-American artists and in particular to the work of Jacob Lawrence. As a result, Lawrence began to speak more openly about his work.

In doing so, Lawrence revealed the universal aims that existed as the impetus for the creation of his racially sensitive works. In a particularly telling interview with Henry Louis Gates Jr., Lawrence discussed his belief that his work did not deal solely with African-American development. He saw African-American development as being an integral part of American development as a

The IMMEDIATE Society By Andrew Daniels Detail of "77th" by Andrew Maier

In modern American society, people don't just prefer their information exchange and connection with each other to be immediate and constant. They have grown to expect it. Thanks to the ever-expanding nature of technology, media convergence, competition, and basic societal needs, we live in a media ecosystem. We are all producers and consumers of content, and feed off of each other instantaneously. This essay examines how society got to this point, and what it means for the future of communication.

t isn't hard for me to pinpoint the exact moment that I became a changed man. On a July night this past summer, I hurried home from work and found the sleek box waiting for me on my dining room table. It was still wrapped tight in plastic, almost as if to warn me that once I opened it, there was no looking back; I would forever lose my innocence if I proceeded with unwrapping. Wasting no time to think about it, I threw out any moral dilemmas I had as I held the shiny, beautiful new toy in my hands. I was now the proud owner of an iPhone.

In a matter of hours, I could testify firsthand about the wonderful and wonderfully evil product that has revolutionized the world since its inception in 2007. Wonderful because with the device, you essentially have the entire world at your fingertips, and global communication knows no bounds. The phone is wonderfully evil for the exact same reason: because you're able to communicate with others and gain knowledge and information with un-paralleled ease, it almost eliminates the need for any other resources,

including human interaction. It happened to me during my first few days with the phone; I hardly had any face-to-face communication with anyone in my honeymoon period, instead relying on the powerful network that lay in my palms for all my basic needs. While I shortly snapped out of my *i*Phone zombie state and regained a social life, the damage had already been done. My world hasn't been the same since.

The iPhone and other smart devices with similar capabilities present their users with infinite possibilities to acquire information and connect with each other, and whether the social implications of that power are good or bad is to be debated and irrelevant to this discussion. What can't be denied is the power itself. We can take the fundamental appeal of smart phones, along with the Internet and other social media—immediacy—and use it to define the current American society. We're part of a culture where immediacy isn't just preferred, it's expected We want our media to keep us in the loop twenty-four hours a day, and anything less than up-to-date breaking news isn't good enough. We want to receive 140-character

SMS messages containing information that we can relay to each other instantaneously and expect a reply or response within seconds. That's the kind of media ecosystem we have: one in which we're all producers and consumers of content, and one that finds us feeding off of each other at a rapid pace. The growth of technology and the evolution of several criteria for success in America have led us to this point, and we're never going back.

The Growth of Technology

Without a doubt, the ever-expanding nature of technology is the primary reason we live in an immediate and hyper-connected society. Though I spent the first decade of my life without the Internet and only acquired a personal cell phone within the last five years, it seems downright foreign to think of a time when these accessories weren't necessities. Technological advancements are so commonplace today that it's easy to forget just how primitive life is before the next great development gets introduced. I use smart phones as the most recent example of unprecedented technological change, but we can climb down

the tower to see a history of these developments. One of the first pages in Shirley Biagi's "Media/Impact" is in fact a time frame from 3500 B.C. to today of revolutions in information communications: the first revolution was phonetic writing in 1000 B.C., the second was the invention of movable type in 1455, and the third was the introduction of digital computers that can process, store, and retrieve information in 1951.1

Though technology is bred from many things—necessity, discovery, and competition, in particular—it's really just another word for evolution. With each new technological advancement throughout history, our media has evolved, and in turn, so has our society. For example, when the printing press was introduced in 1440, it was a partial catalyst for remarkable social change. The press printed books more quickly, made them cheaper to produce and more portable, which meant that people in all classes had a

The Internet truly became the central technological medium and effectively began to power society at the turn of the twentyfirst century. It's impossible to count the wavs in which the net has affected everyone, from middle-class citizens to world leaders. Social media like public blogs have triggered political change—from millions of online grassroots supporters working for Barack Obama's U.S. presidential campaign in 2008 to Ohmy-News.com helping elect Roh Moo Hyun as president of South Korea in 2002—in more effective ways than traditional media outlets.4

The more instantaneous social media— Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube, for example—have turned attention to international affairs. During last summer's Iranian election protests, spectators captured footage of the death of Neda Agha-Soltan, a young Persian woman who was shot and killed in public by militiamen. After being uploaded to the

The events leading up to and following Michael Jackson's sudden death in June unfolded in real time so rapidly on Twitter and Facebook that both social networking sites crashed, well before the news broke on television.

reason to pursue literacy with books being more affordable and more widely available. As a result, increased literacy and the wide spread of information helped lead to the Protestant Reformation, the rise of a market-based economy and the American and French revolutions.² Ever since television evolved from radio and became a commodity for most families in the 1950s, it's transformed daily life, for good and bad: TV has been blamed for everything from declines in literacy to rises in violent crime to trivializing national politics, and praised for giving viewers instant access to world events and uniting audiences amidst national crises.3

Internet, the story and footage instantly went viral as users discussed the death on Twitter. Neda became an international martyr for the protests, almost exclusively propagated by regular citizens on Twitter.⁵ The events leading up to and following Michael Jackson's sudden death in June unfolded in real time so rapidly on Twitter and Facebook that both social networking sites crashed, well before the news broke on television. These examples are unique for two reasons: one, because citizens acted as producers of the news in addition to consumers, and two, because the instantaneous spread of news and discussion as a replacement to traditional

media wouldn't have been possible a mere couple of years ago, before the technology of social networking was introduced. This is how our society functions today. It, like the Internet, is a modern feedback system. It works in real time and captures the ideas and realities we can individually offer to each other. Simply put, it's never been more possible or more exciting to be smack dab in the middle of news.

One of the definitive components of the

The Role of Competition

"American dream," and, subsequently, capitalism, is the opportunity and expectancy to beat your competitors. Americans have always adhered to that spirit, and it remains one of the driving factors for the immediate society we live in today. Producers at both ends of the spectrum—the traditional producers (heads of media corporations, networks and publishers) and the "former audience" at the bottom that Dan Gillmor often refers to (amateur citizen journalists)—strive to outdo their competition. That could mean bloggers competing with other bloggers and traditional media for the most up-to-date scoop. In "We The Media," Gillmor says the rules for journalists have changed, thanks to everyone's ability to make the news. Once someone finds out something, he or she can spread the word globally. Recent Internet conjecture on Tiger Woods' marital affairs led to a flurry of amateur sleuthing, and once these new newsmakers found any tidbits, they spread the news via their blogs or through social networking. It was just one of many cases where new media beat traditional media on a story.

The "old guard" of traditional media print publications, television networks, publishers, advertisers, etc.—is no stranger to competition. Those producers have had to compete with each other for the same audiences for much of the twentieth century, but ever since the Internet entered the fold, old media have faced a particularly big challenge together against a new common foe. Online

media offer vastly superior functional advantages compared to their traditional counterparts, and can create more direct relationships with consumers for advertisers.8 When people stopped reading physical newspapers in favor of free online content, newspapers shifted their efforts to creating and promoting multimedia online. When people stopped reading long-form stories online in favor of receiving 140-character tweets to get their breaking news not long ago, virtually every newspaper created a Twitter account and focused more efforts on social networking. In the last decade, we've gone from preferring immediacy and convenience—choosing to read news online on our laptops instead of waiting to read it the next morning in print—to expecting it to come in quick text messages on our portable phones, only minutes after occurring. An early resistance to change has cost traditional media outlets dearly. Now they're doing everything they can to play catch up, but it might not be enough to survive in a new media world.

The Digital Divide

One of the drawbacks of living in this immediate society is that the "haves" again triumph over the "have-nots." That is, society gives inherent advantages to those who are first; those who have the tools to be good "digital citizens" have a strategic advantage over those who do not.9 About twenty-seven percent of all Americans still do not go online, because they can't afford it or they're afraid of it or they don't have access. 10 This gap is referred to as the "digital divide"—the rift between those with and without online access. For the "have-nots," competition is fierce: without access to the Internet and the newest forms of media, these people lack information and computer technology skills, which means there's less likelihood for them of landing a decent job. Those with more information also tend to participate more in democracy, giving them disproportionate sway over elected officials.¹¹ We might see another digital divide independent of socioeco-



"Metro Downtown" by Andrew Maier

nomic status in the form of social networking. In this situation, the "haves" (the ones who actively network on sites like Facebook and LinkedIn) trump the "have-nots" (those who have online access but do not participate in social networks) when they find better jobs via better networking.¹² There are obvious implications to living in a society where most people are constantly connected.

Convergence and Direct Advertising

In their 2005 short film EPIC 2015, Robin Sloan and Matt Thompson document the recent history of media convergence (i.e. news aggregators, social networking) and proceed to hypothetically predict what state the news media will occupy in the year 2015.13 Sloan and Thompson predict a merger in 2008 between Google and Amazon (dubbed "GoogleZon"), which creates an algorithm allowing computers to construct news stories dynamically tailored to each individual user. Then in 2014, Googlezon

unleashes EPIC, the Evolving Personalized Information Construct, which collects and filters media of all types to consumers.¹⁴ We're not exactly at the level of an EPIC in society, but we're not far off. Bloated news aggregators like Google News already exist, which only reaffirms the state of the "now" society in America. If we want our news right now and tailored to our interests and needs, then Google's aggregator takes care of that for us. Advertisers apply the same idea. On sites like Gmail and Facebook, there are built-in advertisements for products that would most likely appeal to us, based on the content of our e-mail or the interests we have listed in our profiles. Some might consider this an invasion of privacy, but it's been proven that younger generations like mine prefer this method of direct advertising.¹⁵ The American government recognizes this, too. In the last presidential campaign, teenagers reported that they had gained knowledge via traditional news deliv-

ery (professional media) but *empowerment* via direct-to-consumer messages (candidate ads and personal Web sites.)¹⁶

Three Basic Needs

Dan Gillmor makes an interesting point in "We The Media" when he says that modern communications have become history's greatest soapbox, gossip factory, and, in a very real sense, spreader of genuine news.¹⁷

be applied to the free-flow of information that we as amateur producers generate and circulate in our "now" society. I like the term he comes up with to describe the creation of media in new and crucially less expensive ways: "ransom-note media." Gillmor derives the term from the typographical mish-mash that resulted from people using too many different typefaces in the early days of desktop publishing, but I interpret it as

In the last decade, we've gone from preferring immediacy and convenience—choosing to read news online on our laptops instead of waiting to read it the next morning in print—to expecting it to come in quick text messages on our portable phones, only minutes after occurring.

He cites two excellent examples of bloggers and citizen journalists spreading the word about two completely different situations. In the first instance, a blogger found a flaw in Pepsi bottles that allowed people to see codes in the bottle for free song downloads without having to buy the bottle. He then published the tip and urged readers to exploit the campaign. In the second instance, in 2003, news began to leak in China about the local SARS epidemic, which the government tried to keep under wraps. The news didn't leak through newspapers or television, but through SMS messages on mobile phones.¹⁸ In my opinion, the spread of this information from the bottom up can be attributed to three social desires: the need for truth (getting the right message out there in the face of corporate or government lies), the need to help others (letting people know of a cool, free opportunity and a serious health risk), and the flawed—but still very human—need to gossip (spreading both stories). Another desire that Gillmor touches on is the need to create, which can definitely

endearing. Yes, maybe a lack of aesthetics was a drawback to having so much power in the hands of non-professionals, but the creation and movement that followed is what counted. We constantly create new information, however haphazardly, and distribute it to others with hopes of quickly getting the same in return: text messages, tweets, and videos from cellular devices, for example. It's all part of the cycle of our media ecosystem.

Conclusion

At the time of this writing—December 14, 2009, around 7:30 p.m.—there is a block-buster trade in Major League Baseball that's close to completion, pending physicals and final contract negotiations. In the centerpiece of the three-team deal, the Philadelphia Phillies will receive Toronto Blue Jays starting pitcher Roy Halladay, a perennial All Star and former Cy Young Award winner. Even though I'm a die-hard Phillies fan who is beyond ecstatic that the best pitcher in baseball is joining his team, I don't write of the trade to gloat. Instead, I'd like to use the

circumstances of it as the final example of our immediate society in action.

I was finishing this paper earlier this afternoon when I decided to check my Twitter feed online to catch up with the news I had missed over the previous few hours of the day. The very first status update I saw came courtesy of Andy Martino, Phillies beat writer for the Philadelphia Inquirer, around 2:30 p.m.: "Roy Halladay and agent currently in Philadelphia, multiple sources say." Positively stunned and jubilant at this shocking news, I quickly scoured Twitter for any other news regarding the team or Halladay by searching for relevant terms like #phillies and #halladay. I was instantly given hundreds of real-time tweets about the potential trade—many of which were retweets circulated within seconds of each other—by everyone from baseball insiders to average fans. I kept refreshing the page as time passed and more information came out, and within an hour the results numbered in the thousands, and "Roy Halladay" and "Cliff Lee" (the Phillies' pitcher in this trade) were actual trending topics in the late afternoon. I was watching this massive trade unfold in real time through social networking sites like Twitter and Facebook, on the bottom tickers of ESPN and MLB Network, and through frantic text messages and eager phone calls. We were all satisfying each other's needs by updating everyone as soon as we had any new details on the trade. It was a pretty special thing to witness, not just as an excited baseball fan, but also as an active media user.

I end with the trade example to underscore one last time just how powerful our immediate society has quickly become, and how the possibilities for living and functioning in an even more connected way are virtually endless. We're on the footsteps of the next major revolution in information communications. From this point forward, constant technological growth, increased competition, and the fulfillment of basic needs will continue to attribute to the immediate American society.

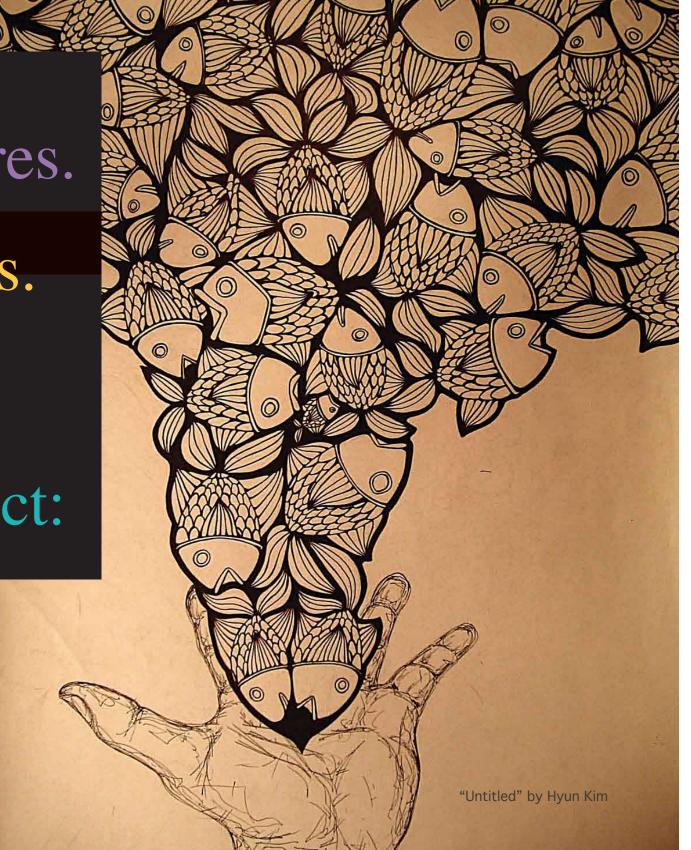


Detail of "Metro Station, Paris" by Jessica Bandy

Sharing Cultures. Sharing Stories. Sharing Lives. Sharing Respect:

An Examination of the Gift Cycle in *Fools Crow*

By Faith Roncoroni



Inspired by a moving experience at a retreat, this author examines the impacts and implications of gift giving and storytelling in American Indian culture. Framed in a study of anthropological perspectives, this introspective analysis of the characters of James Welch's *Fools Crow* reveals how actions within the gift cycle and storytelling simultaneously construct and strengthen the American Indian identity. Going beyond textual analysis, "An Examination of the Gift Cycle" illuminates the cultural dynamics of gift giving, telling stories, and the giving of stories in *Fools Crow* through Welch's personal sharing of his history, beliefs, and tribal practices.

Dedicated to Shorty

All of our eyes focused on him as he silently walked towards us tightly clutching six sticks against his chest, cradling them like an infant, making his way down the isle. Our conversations came to an abrupt standstill. As he approached us, time slowed down, each moment beating in rhythm with our hearts' drumming, quickening in pace as our anticipation grew.

With each beat his foot hit the ground.
With each beat he captured more of our attention.
With each beat our confusion mounted.
With each beat we felt more unified.

We clumsily stood up from our seats, struggling to maintain some form of decorum in the church that we had been preparing to rest in for the night.

Some of us were already in our pajamas, some had their sleeping bags strewn across the pews, and some were brushing their teeth in the bathroom, but all of us showed respect by standing in his presence. When he stopped before us, the beating paused; he lifted his eyes from the sticks that seemed to beckon such concentration, allowing us to motion for the rest of the group to gather around him. Intimately, we huddled together in absolute silence waiting for Shorty to explain his

unexpected visit. He spoke no unnecessary words, but delicately extended his arms, carefully moving as though protecting the sticks from touching the ground. The sticks called for our gaze again; transfixed by such unexpected generosity.

we just stood there.

His arms remained outstretched, leaving the sticks vulnerable.

We just stood there.

Everyone's stare now turned from him to me, expecting me, as their leader, to accept his offer of friendship, but I hesitated; I knew that asking to buy a set of sticks was inappropriate for a woman because only men played with sticks, but I wasn't sure if accepting the sticks would offend him.

We just stood there. I just stood there.

"Take them. They are yours. Take them."

As a girl from the group began to reach for them, I put my arms out, palms facing upward, ready to receive the sticks. He passed them off to both of us and we stood there as he looked down at his feet.

"Just promise that you will pass them on to someone who cares; pass on the tradition of the game to someone who appreciates it, understands it."

I looked down at the sticks which now rested in my arms; unable to even utter a generic "thank you," this exchange left us sincerely unable to articulate our overwhelming emotions. In an attempt to explicate our unfathomable gratitude, I raised my head and had to clear my throat before I could mumble, "We are speechless, we don't even know how to respond to such generosity. Thank you. We are completely speechless." I choked back tears, simultaneously noticing that the boy across from me was similarly looking down to hide his glossed eyes, but his hard swallowing betrayed his effort. Everyone had a similar humbling reaction and proceeded to thank Shorty, shake his hand, and even exchange hugs.

Sharing cultures. Sharing stories. Sharing lives. Sharing respect.

Sitting in the van for twelve hours gave us plenty of time to dread the workload awaiting us on our return to campus, classes, life. Even those of us nerdy enough to bring work on our spring break realized how small a dent we put in our academic studies over the course of the week. For me specifically, thesis research loomed over my head and weighed down my duffle bag, still unread. Our excuse: we were immersed in life. Who could blame us? It was a once-in-a-lifetime experience, and our gift of Fish sticks became our living proof. With plenty of time to recount the events surrounding the gift exchange, we tried to figure out why he chose us and what the gift meant. The deeper we delved, the more questions we uncovered. Fascinated by this unexpected gift from Shorty, who belongs to a culture that is distrustful of whites, I realized I needed to research gift economies in American Indian culture and tradition to grasp a better understanding of his generous gift.

In this paper I focus on the functioning of gift economies in American Indian culture according to Marcel Mauss's theory of the

Sahlins, and Lewis Hyde's accounts on gift giving. Then I will discuss how, within the Blackfeet tribe Welch depicts, a man named Fools Crow gets rewarded for adhering to the social laws of gift giving, while his peer Fast Horse fails to reciprocate, breaks the gift cycle, and suffers from the consequences. In this way, Welch depicts how narratives within American Indian culture function: boosting the status of the storyteller. increasing self confidence in the audience, providing explanations for the storyteller's misfortune, and preserving the tradition of his or her culture. Fool's Crow demonstrates how stories themselves can function as gifts that adhere to the cycle of giving, receiving, and reciprocating: Welch emphasizes the necessity of passing on the American Indian narrative in the survival of native history and culture. In short, Welch's novel portrays the gift cycle in its entirety, including appropriate examples of obligated giving, accepting, and reciprocating, the exceptions to these obligations, and the consequences which result from failing to adhere to the social laws of gift giving. The narrative

The act of giving establishes a social bond between the giver and recipient, where the recipient becomes obligated to reciprocate in order to demonstrate his own honor, power, and wealth.

gift—involving the obligation to give, the obligation to receive, and the obligation to reciprocate—as well as Marshall Sahlin's account of each party's responsibility while involved within the gift cycle. More specifically, I expand upon Lewis Hyde's notion of the artist's gift by examining the importance of American Indian story gifts in protecting one's reputation, maintaining one's power, and strengthening one's bonds as portrayed in James Welch's novel *Fools Crow.*¹ I will first summarize Marcel Mauss, Marshall

Fools Crow provides examples of successful and unsuccessful gift exchanges, while simultaneously revealing how the characters' narratives themselves function within the gift economy of American Indian culture.

Part I: The Gift Cycle

Ethnologist Marcel Mauss lays the foundation for theory on gift economies by examining historical examples of gift giving and the rise of reciprocal exchange. After recognizing the pattern of giving, he begins to analyze the relationship between the giver and gift; his goal is to discover why the recipient pays back the gift. Mauss specifically examines the gift exchanges in Maori culture by listening to Maori informants such as Tamati Ranaipiri, who reveals the secrets of the "theological and juridicial spirit" to him:

Now, this taonga that he gives me is the spirit (han) of the taonga that I had received from you and that I had given to him. The taonga that I received for these taonga (which came from you) must be returned to you. It would not be fair (tika) on my part to keep these taonga for myself, whether they were desirable (rame) or undesirable (kino). I must give them to you because they are a han of the taonga that you gave me. If I kept this other taonga for myself, serious harm might befall me, even death. This is the nature of the han, the han, of personal property, the han of the taonga, the han of the forest.²

personally and spiritually (hau) invests himself in the gift (taonga), giving away a part of himself in the act. Therefore, the act of giving establishes a social bond between the giver and recipient, where the recipient becomes obligated to reciprocate in order to demonstrate his own honor, power, and wealth. If the recipient fails to present a return gift after a reasonable amount of time, he becomes vulnerable to punishment. More generally, Mauss suggests that three related obligations comprise gift economies: the obligation to give (to create and maintain social relationships), the obligation to receive (to accept the social bond), and the obligation to reciprocate (to show respect and to exhibit power).

In short, Mauss concludes that the giver

Using the Maussian triad theory of gifts as his basis, anthropologist Marshall Sahlins delves deeper into the exploration of how the spirit of the gift in the physical object perpetuates the cycle of giving. He also examines how the rules of both parties, the original giver and the recipient, should interact within the social confines of a gift economy by examining critiques of Mauss. He cites



"Tree" by Sarah DePietro

Claude Levi-Strauss's argument on the validity of the Maori's rationalization, believing that "the hau is not the reason for exchange, only what one people happen to believe is the reason, the way they represent to themselves an unconscious necessity whose reason lies elsewhere".3 Sahlins then shifts the dispute and finds fault with Mauss's interpretation of the Maori view of hau. To support this theory, he quotes ethnologist Raymond Firth, who states, "Mauss confused types of hau that in the Maori view are quite distinc—the hau of persons, that of lands and forests, and that of taonga—and on the strength of this confusion he formulated a serious error...the hau of persons was never at issue". 4 After thoroughly examining these conflicting positions on the spirit of the gift, the hau, Sahlins concludes that the *hau* refers to a return or product which should be given to the original donor.⁵ While Sahlins acknowledges the power of

hau involved in compelling the recipient to reciprocate, he also mentions specific forms of self interest which motivate and perpetuate the cycle of giving. Self interest provokes people to exchange gifts because they know that a person adhering to the social laws of gift giving will receive some form of reward, or at least avoid the punishment that accompanies the breaking of the gift cycle. Giving maintains and improves the reputation, status, and power of the giver, while avoiding psychological burden, fragmentation, loss of authority, and/or physical harm. Giving ultimately benefits the giver even if he acts out of obligation.

Building upon Mauss and Sahlins, who mainly discuss concrete gifts, scholar Lewis Hyde focuses on the inner gifts of creativity and art which, he argues, follow the same communal laws as external gifts. Therefore, non-tangible inner gifts also follow the

cycle of obligatory giving, receiving, and reciprocating: "a gift [inner or outer] that cannot be given away ceases to be a gift. The spirit of a gift is kept alive by its constant donation".6 According to Hyde, an artist's talent functions as a gift which increases as it passes through the self because "the artist makes something higher than what he has been given, and this, the finished work, is the third gift, the one offered to the world in general or directed back specifically to the 'clan and homeland' of an earlier gift".7 The artist acts as the recipient who becomes obligated to reciprocate, which in this case means that he must pass his gift to others through creation. His inner gift, talent, transforms into an external gift, product. Despite the variations in their understanding of the gift cycle, Hyde, Sahlins, and Mauss agree that a seemingly simple gift carries obligations and restrictions; if the giver and recipient adhere to the social laws of gift giving they will find reward, but if they fail to follow these principles severe consequences will ensue.

Part II: The Gift Cycle in Fools Crow

In the novel Fools Crow, James Welch's characters, Fools Crow and Fast Horse, do not merely exemplify appropriate and inappropriate action within the gift cycle, but emphasize the importance of the role that gift giving plays in their maturation. As they "come of age" within their Blackfeet culture, tribal members show them more respect and, consequently, give them more responsibility. For instance, both Fools Crow and Fast Horse enter into the gift cycle when they receive their visions (respect), but then they must adhere to the social laws of gift giving (responsibility). Fools Crow becomes responsible for forewarning his tribe by sharing his dream with others, while Fast Horse must move a boulder that blocks a spring. Neither responds properly. It seems as though Fools Crow's fear prevents him from initially relaying his dream to his tribe and Fast Horse's selfishness inhibits him

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from seeking out the boulder. Despite their failure to follow the laws of gift giving, Fools Crow and Fast Horse avoid the serious consequences which typically precede such cultural infractions, and even receive a chance to redeem themselves. Why do they escape the severe punishment that Mauss, Sahlins, and Hyde claim result from failing to reciprocate? And more importantly, how do their actions in the gift cycle fit into a

gods through a healing ceremony, and help Yellow Kidney's family. Like Fools Crow, Fast Horse's inexperience with the gift cycle leads to his failure in understanding the implications of neglecting reciprocity. He boasts and laughs about his interaction with Cold Maker while the older, wiser Yellow Kidney worries about fulfilling the obligation to the god. In both instances, the young men's inexperience with the social structure of gift giving hinders

Instead of forcing the gift's recipient to provide an exchange gift solely out of selfishness, out of fear for the negative consequences of their actions, Welch portrays the American Indians as people who generally care about the well-being of other tribal members.

coming-of-age story about American Indians caught between mainstream white culture and traditional customs?

First, although Fools Crow and Fast Horse break the rules of the gift cycle, Welch portrays them as neither understanding the seriousness of the contract they have entered, nor knowing how to respond to their gifts. Since they must learn the social laws surrounding gifts, their inappropriate action, due to their ignorance of gift giving gets forgiven by the tribe. Their actions do not pass by unnoticed, though. Fools Crow and Fast Horse experience the psychological burden of guilt, but Fools Crow's remorse brings him closer to the tribe while Fast Horse's shame distances him from the Blackfeet, For instance, Fools Crow does not know how to act after receiving his vision, so he seeks help by confiding in an older man in the community, Mik-api. Mik-api explains that Fools Crow must share his story because the spirit within him has become poisonous. He also shows how Fools Crow can atone for his unsuitable response to his dream, honor the

them from responding appropriately, but the older tribal members recognize the danger of not returning a gift and act as a resource by explaining proper responses and teaching methods for atonement when asked. The young men's mistakes become a chance for them to interact with older members of the tribe, learn about their cultural laws of the gift cycle, and maintain a sense of tradition through the older tribal members' teachings. To summarize, Fool Crow and Fast Horse respond inappropriately because they lack the experiential knowledge of gift giving and must turn to the older members for guidance. By showing how the youths are forced to rely on the older members of the tribe in order to learn the culturally accepted rules of the gift cycle, Welch sheds a more positive light on what Mauss refers to as "obligated reciprocity." Instead of forcing the gift's recipient to provide an exchange gift solely out of selfishness, out of fear for the negative consequences of their actions, Welch portrays the American Indians as people who generally care about the well-being of other

tribal members. They seek unity and use the gift cycle as a social method of interaction to show acceptance and respect.

Since Fools Crow commonly gets referred

to as a "coming-of-age" novel, it is important to examine if and how the characters' maturation within American Indian culture is impacted by gift giving. Fools Crow and Fast Horse's acceptance into the tribal gift cycle signifies the beginning of their initiation into adulthood within the Blackfeet tribe, where their response to receiving gifts functions as a social determinant of their identity. In Rites of Institution, Pierre Bourdieu suggests that social rituals divide society into those who experience the rite and those who do not experience the rite. Only a select few in the tribe get personally invited into the gift cycle with the gods, and even fewer experience the powerful vision gifts given to Fools Crow and Fast Horse. Due to their native lineages, the men from the tribe include Fools Crow and Fast Horse in their hunts, horse thievery, ceremonies, and gift cycle, while other boys remain left behind. Including them in these cultural practices places a great deal of pressure on Fools Crow and Fast Horse to live up to the standards of respected, powerful hunters and medicine men within their society. Mirroring Bourdieu's claim that rites of institution "transform the representations others have of him and above all the behaviour they adopt towards him,"8 Fast Horse's failure to adhere to the social laws of gift giving and inability to achieve full acceptance into the tribe changes the tribe's perception of him. Although the Blackfeet initially honor Fast Horse for his looks, strength, and lineage, his negligence of the rules of gift giving overshadows these positive attributes and ruins his reputation. Others view him as disrespectful, selfish, foolish, and a poor leader, and their behavior toward him reflects their changed perception. Instead of treating him as a leader by flocking to his stories and looking to him for guidance, the tribe completely separates itself from him through his banishment. Similarly, Fools



Detail of "Untitled" by Hyun Kim

Crow's inclusion in these tribal rites and successful completion of these rites also impose an identity on him, allowing him to become included in more tribal events and ultimately earning him the respect needed to choose his wife, smoke with the elders, and receive ceremonial gifts from tribal members.

Bourdieu's rites of institution not only recognize and emphasize the differences between members of these groups, but legitimize the differences by transforming others' views and treatment of Fools Crow, while simultaneously shaping his own representation of himself and "the behaviour he feels obliged to adopt in order to conform to that representation." In short, Welch's novel shows that identities impose boundaries on the individual because that person must act in accordance with his identity and will be judged

of him because he feels obligated to act within the confines of the identity given to him. For instance, Fools Crow feels obligated to atone for tribal infractions of the gift cycle, and as a leader, the tribe expects him to play an integral role in the ceremony. He endures torture during the Sun Dance Festival to help heal and protect his people from the consequences of Fast Horse's failure to reciprocate. Before the festival he prepares by fasting, but when the day arrives, elders pierce the flesh of his chest with spears while he dances to the beat of the drum. They apply weight to the sticks until the skewers break free from his body, tearing his flesh and leaving a permanent reminder of his offering for his tribe, his gift to the Sun god, and his new-found leadership role within his tribe. The violence associated with this pivotal ceremony shows Fools Crow's

Stories function as more than just coping mechanisms which displace blame and provide comfort. Stories create. Stories define. Stories ascribe identities.

and treated according to this representation. This distinctive treatment encourages him to realize his essence and conform to living in accordance with his assigned identity. While Fools Crow's identity impacts other's behavior and actions towards him, his own actions also adhere to Bourdieu's theory, which states that a person conforms to society's representation

strength, increasing his power and influence in his community while psychologically making it harder for him to distance himself from social expectations and rites. Bourdieu explains this heightened cultural entrapment, claiming that "people's adherence to an institution is directly proportional to the severity and painfulness of the rites of initiation."

Although Bourdieu cites exceptions to conforming and remaining within identity's restraints, such as the "nobleman who demeans himself" and the "priest who abandons his calling,"11 the boundary of the identity remains clear, intact, and still functions to permanently discourage people from crossing the boundary through punishment. Therefore, the reality that he achieves is not based upon his own personal conviction but rather is dependent upon the institution's collective belief reinforced and made prevalent through symbols, qualifications, and other attributes. In Fools Crow, tribal members show respect for one another by following the social laws of gift giving, or they dishonor the tribe and cause suffering by disrupting the gift cycle. For instance, when Fast Horse fails to adhere to the social laws of gift giving, the tribe no longer considers him one of its members and physically separates itself from Fast Horse by banishing him. Fast Horse acts as an example of punishment used to dissuade inappropriate behavior in the gift cycle because he gets stripped of his tribal identity and any features which would delineate him as part of the Blackfeet. Soon after his exile, Fast Horse joins a rebel group known for their theft, torture, and murder of others. He spirals down a dangerous path and finds himself trapped in the identity of an outlaw. After joining this new group Fast Horse must act within the confines of his new identity even when he acknowledges the immorality of his actions and feels opposed to carrying out

his part. On the other end of the spectrum, Fools Crow values gift giving and learns how to respond properly when presented with a gift. He gives, accepts, and reciprocates appropriately, solidifying his identity as a respected, powerful man in the tribe.

The Blackfeet culture of Welch's *Fools*Crow finds itself rapidly changing and being divided into groups of people who favor

Part III: The Function of Stories within American Indian Culture

Storytelling plays a crucial role in the survival of the American Indian culture because stories empower the tribe by providing explanations for their misfortune and eliminating them from responsibility by placing blame on trickster characters. But stories function as more than just coping

The artist must labor over his internal gift until he creates a work of art, which he can give to others, and distributes it, so it can be accepted by others. Once people accept the gift of art—in this case, hear the story—they must reciprocate, even if that means simply passing the story onto others.

mainstream culture or those who follow traditional ways. By applying Bourdieu's theory to this American Indian culture in the novel it becomes apparent that native people further divide themselves according to their adherence to the gift cycle, which determines whether they can be respected and trusted as leaders or even participate in the traditional culture. Specifically, Welch shows how an American Indian's heritage plays a role in his acceptance and exemplifies Bourdieu's theory through Fools Crow's sociallyascribed identity. As Fools Crow builds a reputation for adhering to the social laws of gift giving, he builds relationships with the elders and the tribal members treat him with a greater respect. This admiration makes him feel obligated to live up their expectations as a leader by partaking in the excruciatingly painful Sun Dance ceremony to atone for his tribe's failure to reciprocate. Meanwhile, Fast Horse's continual failure to reciprocate to Cold Maker dishonors the god and the tribe, destroying his reputation, leading to his exile, and forcing him to adopt the life of an outlaw.

mechanisms which displace blame and provide comfort. Stories create. Stories define. Stories ascribe identities. Similar to the ways in which Fools Crow and Fast Horse's adherence to or insubordination of the gift cycle define their identity and role in the tribe, storytelling further develops and reveals their identity.

Stories greatly influence Fools Crow's identity; he earns his first name from his fascination with storytelling and his second name from the stories that other tribal members tell about him. Names distinguish people from others, but the Blackfeet culture views American Indians' names as more than just an "individual designation by which a particular person or thing is known, referred to, or addressed."12 Instead, a Blackfoot American Indian gets named by other tribe members according to his qualities, experiences, or some other form of individual description. Fools Crow first gets named according to his interest in stories and his response to that interest. As a child, Fools Crow loves listening to stories and follows the tribal storyteller around as though he were a loyal dog. His passion for hearing stories

leads to his adolescent name, White Man's Dog. The tribe refers to Fools Crow by the name of White Man's Dog until he begins transitioning into adulthood and becomes the subject of stories. Fools Crow, no longer a passive listener who depends on others to tell him stories, becomes a part of the story itself.

After the raid of Crow horses, tribal members begin to drop Fools Crow's name in conversation, and soon after his accomplishments spread throughout the tribe, men eagerly gather around the storytellers to continually hear about Fools Crow's bravery, skill, and honor. With each telling the danger grows, Fools Crow's actions become more fantastic, and he earns more respect. As the story evolves so does Fools Crow's identity, which gets reflected in his name change from White Man's Dog to Fools Crow. With his new name Fools Crow grows into his newly-ascribed identity as a courageous, powerful leader in the Blackfeet tribe. After he gains his independence and status in the tribe. Fools Crow takes on the most active role in storytelling, empowering others through his stories. For instance, as mentioned earlier, Fools Crow tells One Spot, the little boy attacked by the wolf, the story of Poia in an effort to comfort and rebuild his selfconfidence. Stories now become tools that Fools Crow uses to help shape and define others.

In short, Welch shows how stories play an integral role in the identity formation of American Indians through the character Fools Crow. Fools Crow begins as a listener of stories and gradually progresses in his involvement of the storytelling process by inspiring stories with his accomplishments and eventually becoming the storyteller who helps define others. His growth from listening to telling stories corresponds to his maturation and identity development, similarly to the way in which his actions within the gift cycle determine his identity. Although Welch emphasizes the importance of these cultural practices in the Blackfeet tribe by showing numerous examples of stories being told and gifts being given, how can both of these social customs simultaneously define an individual? In what

ways do telling stories and giving gifts overlap, contradict, or reinforce identity development in Welch's depiction of an American Indian tribe? How does a story function as a gift? What does it mean when an individual needs to give a part of oneself to fully realize their identity and place in their culture?

Part IV: Stories as Gifts

While Welch portrays storytelling as a gift and social determinant, sharing stories functions as more than just a form of giving gifts or method used to ascribe identities to members of the tribe. Stories, or any form of art, contain a deeper personal investment than already-existing tangible gifts. While Mauss and Sahlins's theories on the gift cycle correspond to the vision gifts and responses of Fools Crow and Fast Horse, the author Lewis Hyde specifically focuses on gifts of art. He uses the theories of Mauss and Sahlins as a foundation to draw correlations between the creation and distribution, acceptance, and continuation of stories to the gift cycle's process of giving, receiving, and reciprocating.

The cycle of giving must start with an initial gift, and in the case of an artist's gift, the gift originates internally as a creative spirit. Due to the nature of the gift, the gift of the creative spirit, the artist cannot simply pass the internal gift to others, but neither is he exempt from obligated reciprocity. Instead, the artist must labor over his internal gift until he creates a work of art, which he can give to others, and distributes it, so it can be accepted by others. Once people accept the gift of art—in this case, hear the story—they must reciprocate, even if that means simply passing the story onto others. While the general cycle of giving stories mirrors Mauss and Sahlins's model of the gift cycle, the initial step of creation makes the process of sharing stories intimate and in some instances more valuable. Hyde refers to this process of transforming an internal gift into an external gift as "creation" and believes that the artist's imagination acts as the instrument which "brings the work to life." The

creation of art occurs while transforming the inner gift and object of the artist's labor into an outer gift, which Hyde refers to as "a vehicle of culture." Hyde's use of the word "vehicle" implies that the artist acts as a medium through which the internal gift gets transmitted, while the artist's gift becomes a means of expression and communication with others. Realizing his gift and creating artwork provides the artist with a method for sharing his gift with others, but since his life and surroundings influence his gift, he cannot avoid sharing his culture and himself with his audience. The work of art still possesses part of the artist even after the gift leaves his possession because "the legal tie, a tie occurring through things, is one between souls, because the thing itself possesses a sou and is of the soul. Hence it follows that to make a gift of something to someone is to make a present of some part of oneself;"15

through his gift he gives a voice to his talent.

culture, and himself. This interpretation of the artist's gift reinforces Hyde's belief that "these creations are not 'merely' symbolic, they do not 'stand for' the larger self; they are its necessary embodiment, a language without which it would have no life at all." When applied to the stories of American Indians, these creations literally keep alive the identity, traditions, and culture of Native Peoples despite the death of certain ceremonies, languages, lineages, and customs.

Storytelling allows them to interact with tribal members, reminisce about their past, share their history, teach their culture, and maintain their American Indian identity. In *Genocide of the Mind*, American Indians who find themselves trapped between mainstream culture and their traditional culture—similarly to the characters in *Fools Crow*—emphasize the importance that storytelling plays in establishing and strengthening their identities. Kathryn Lucci-Cooper refers to her Cherokee



'Untitled" by Hyun Kim

heritage as "mixed" because her family incorporates traditional ancestral beliefs along with mainstream Christian practices. After trying to discover herself at an American university, she comes to the conclusion that "those of us who are Indian understand that it is the telling of stories, our very breath, that brings forth tribal identity and defines purpose. Our oral tradition, which is both ceremonially sacred and ritualized through the

connect with other tribal members and people outside of their tribe. Fools Crow bonds with his tribe over stories because he becomes acquainted with older tribal members by hearing and eventually telling stories to the youth in hopes of inspiring them. Despite the copious examples of storytelling between tribal members, the characters within Welch's narrative do not generally tell their stories to people outside of the tribe. Instead,

Stories not only define American Indians by the role they play in the storytelling process – as shown through Fools Crow's maturation and name changing – but stories actually create a world where American Indians can experience their traditions and connect with other tribal members and people outside their tribe.

use of language, is also living thought."¹⁷ She describes stories as living entities that help American Indians retain their past culture in a present-day setting. Similarly, Lee Francis believes that the identities of American Indians are "inextricable, interwoven in the stories they were told. For Native People, story was and continues to be essential to an individual's identity construction and development." American Indians can literally reclaim their identity through storytelling. Contrary to Lucci-Cooper and Francis, another American Indian author Gerald Vizenor does not believe stories merely define a person, but that "the real world exists in stories," and that the act of storytelling liberates the mind through these language games.¹⁹ Stories not only define American Indians by the role they play in the storytelling process—as shown through Fools Crow's maturation and name changing—but stories actually create a world where American Indians can experience their traditions and

Welch himself acts as the character who shares a part of himself and his culture with his readers by introducing his audience to the life of a Blackfeet in 1870. Since the majority of his audience probably identifies themselves with mainstream culture, Welch shares the past of his people, the Blackfeet, with outsiders. He provides his readers with a detailed description of ceremonial events like the Sun Dance, incorporates elements of trickster discourse through Fools Crow's interaction with Rayen, and examines the painful history of the Blackfeet characterized by war, disease, and infractions within the tribe. More specifically, Welch bases the ending of *Fools Crow* on the historical event of the Marias River Massacre in the winter of 1870, where a small group of renegades targeted women and children, killing a total of 173 Blackfeet in hopes of halting the white settler's raiding. Welch heard about this tragic event through the stories of tribal members, but on a more personal level, he learned about

the massacre from his father, whose mother survived the event and told her son about it.²⁰ The tales of his tribe's history were verbally passed down through his family, and he shares these personal, meaningful stories with his audience through the characters and events in *Fools Crow*. By presenting society with his story of *Fools Crow*, Welch gives his readers a part of himself through the creative spirit in his writing of the story, but more importantly, his gift invites his readers to experience the personal, heart wrenching past of his tribe that lives in his story.

Conclusion

Looking back on the gift of Fish sticks, I still struggle to understand Shorty's gift, but I do realize that the tangible gift of sticks pales in comparison to his gift of stories involving the sticks and the cultural practices surrounding the Fish games. Shorty accepted us into his culture, even if it was just for that night, but now we must reciprocate. We must pass his story, our new story, onto others; we must continue the tradition.

we came as just a group of white college kids who hid from one another on campus, nearly touching shoulders as we passed by, too busy texting on our cell phones and listening to our iPods. always looking down as we pass, avoiding conversation, interaction. adopting avoidance out of fear of our differences, even though we all look and act the same. cultured to rush, to ignore.

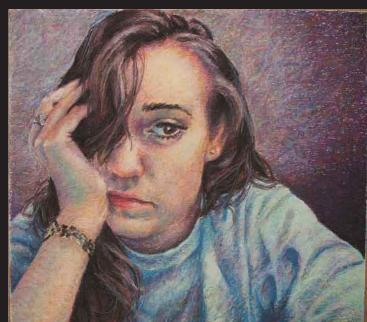
we left as just some white kids. the same white kids, yet transformed by friendship. we try to understand, are learning to understand our story, and how our story intertwines with others. others who trust us, open their arms, open their culture. we accept hesitantly. in sincerest awkwardness, we honor them, him. the drumming begins again, not calling us home. we are not indian. we are just white kids drumming out the rhythm of our steps, hoping to share our story, give you our story. this was our story.

ARTWORK

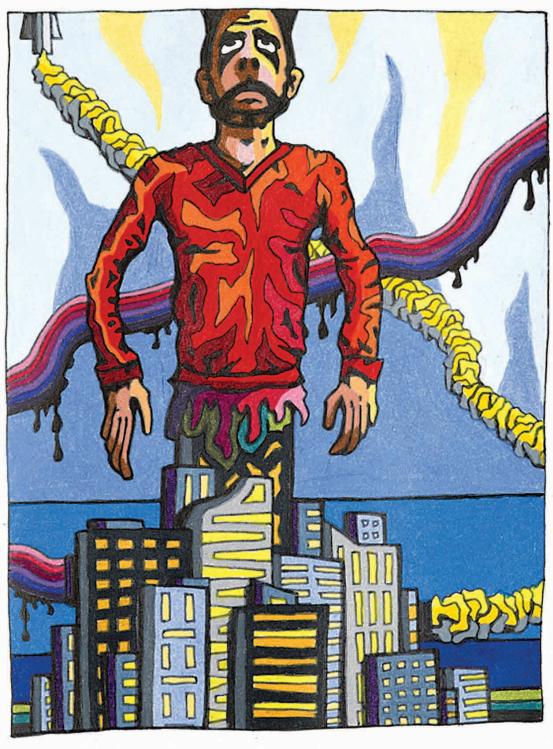


"Your Dissecting Judgment Doesn't Hurt Me as Much as My Own" by Samantha Rivera

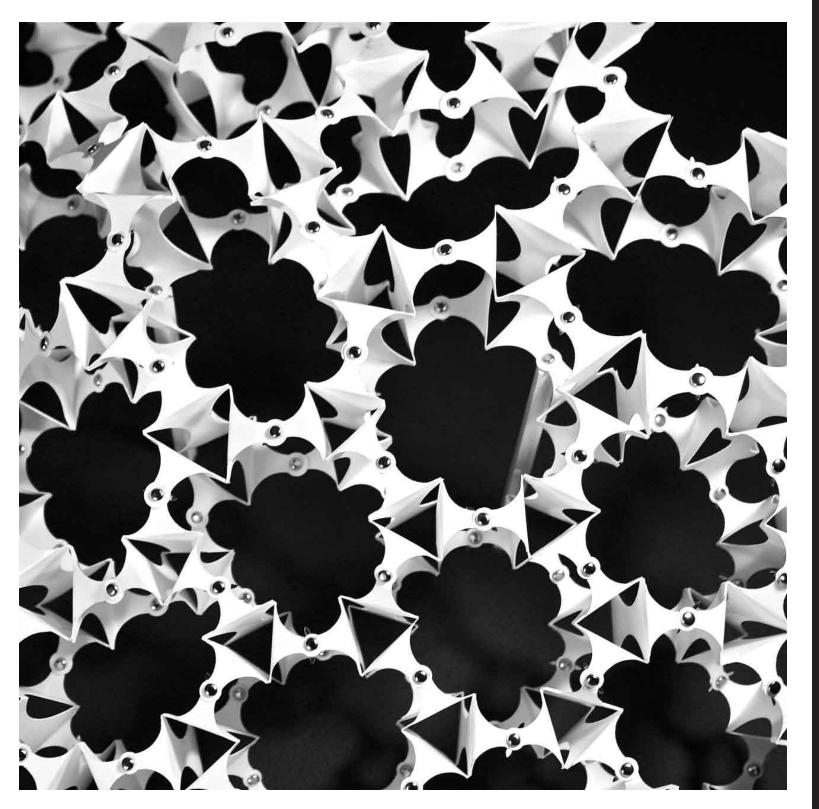


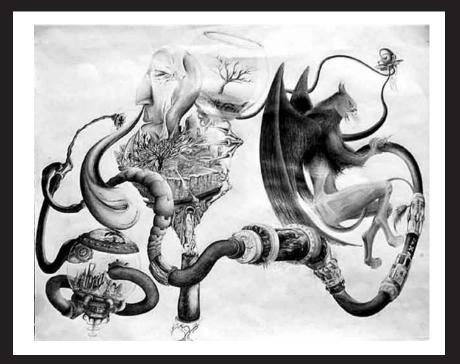


Above: "Weeping Nude" by Ellen Pierce Right: "Self-Portrait" by Elizabeth Spengel



"Untitled" by Matthew Burrows





Left: "Metamaterial" by Evan Cerilli Right: "Untitled" by Jesus Luna Below: "Mt. Olympus" by Red Gevhere





Above: "Locks" by Thomas McMurtrie

Clockwise from top left:

"Untitled" by Magaret Griffiths

"The Swede" by Sarah DePietro

"Some Work, Some Play" by Andrew Maier

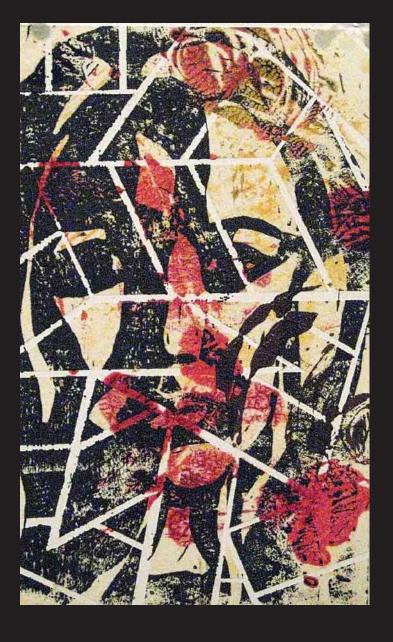
"Music of Berlin" by Sarah DePietro



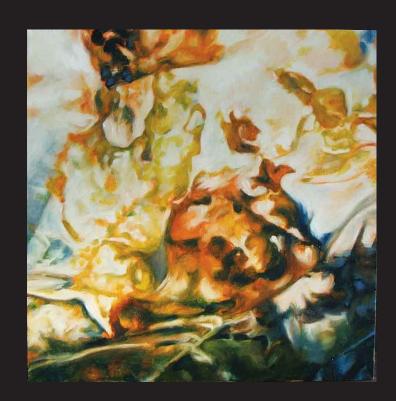


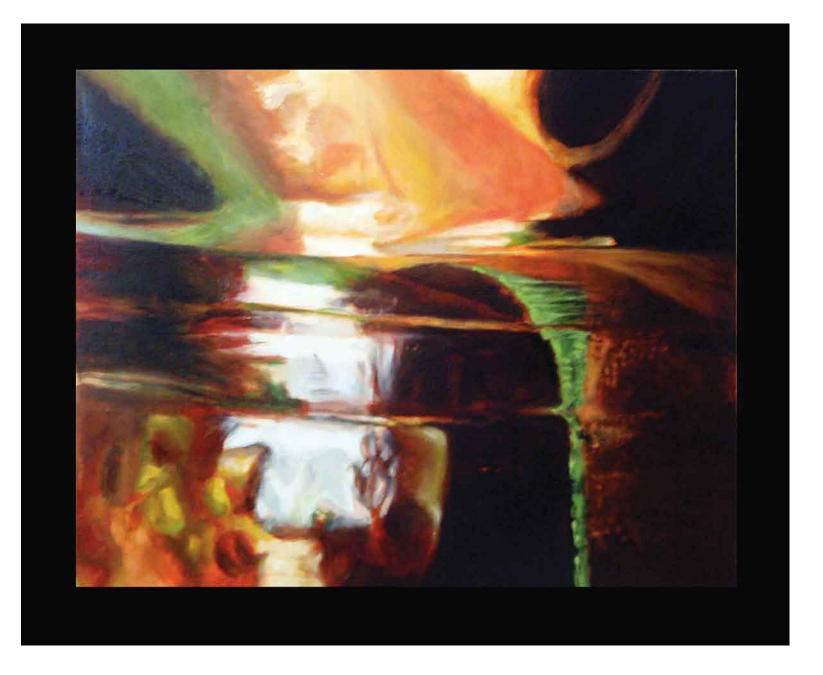












Above: "Another Look" by Jennifer Thibault Clockwise from left: "Self" by Catherine Higgins "Marsh" by Ellen Pierce "The Reach" by Elizabeth Spengel



please read to me.

or my face will freeze this way www.literacytent.org

Left: "Literacy" by Catherine Higgins Clockwise from top left:
"Fast" by Jessica Bandy
"Campo de Gheto Novo" by Andrew Maier
"The Lights at Night" by Jennifer Thibault

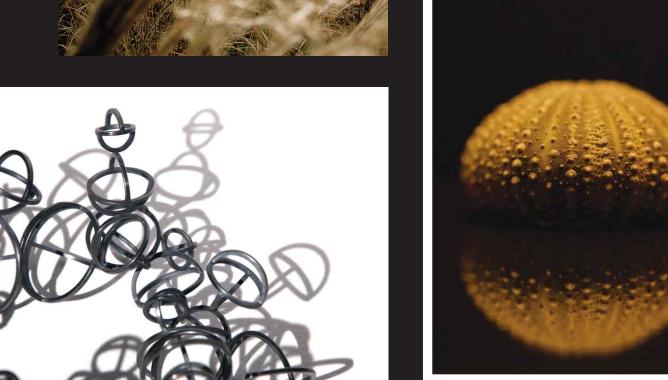


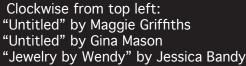






"Untitled" by Maggie Griffiths "Untitled" by Gina Mason "Jewelry by Wendy" by Jessica Bandy







"Untitled" by Margaret Griffiths

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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Alex Haitos is a senior philosophy major whose current work focuses on how to account for the burgeoning novelty in human experience. In "Metaphor and Science," Haitos investigates how metaphors hammer at the boundaries of meaning within scientific modes of thought and constitute the first advance into novel concepts.

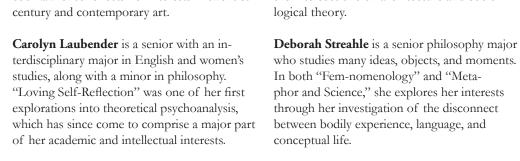
Catherine Higgins is a senior pursuing a major in studio art and a minor in architectural history. She plans to pursue a career in museum curation, and her research on the legacy of Jacob Lawrence reflects her interests in twentieth

Erica Prosser is a junior Africana studies major with a minor in business. Her passion for social change propelled her to investigate the new school of post-development in anthropological study, which promises community transformation created by local peoples rather than international authorities.

Faith Roncoroni is a senior English major whose appreciation and love of American Indian culture, discourse, and writings stemmed from a community service trip to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, and grew during her time with the Cherokee Nation. An aspiring teacher, she hopes to share her stories and correct the misconceptions of American Indians that pervade our society.

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who studies many ideas, objects, and moments. In both "Fem-nomenology" and "Metaphor and Science," she explores her interests through her investigation of the disconnect between bodily experience, language, and



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⁴ Rothbart, "The Semantics of Metaphor and the Structure of Science," 611.

⁵ Ibid. 595.

⁶Brown, Making Truth: Metaphor in Science, 184.

⁸George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Philosophy in the Flesh: the embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought (New

York: Basic Books, 1999), 46.

⁹ Ibid. 46.

10 Ibid. 56.

¹¹ Ibid. 59. 12 Rothbart, "The Semantics of Metaphor and the Structure of Science," 597.

¹³ A word's "literal" meaning consists of the items that (in the current state of a language) directly determine a word's application. For example, "blood" has "liquid" as part of its literal meaning. Adapted from: Daniel Rothbart, "The Semantics of Metaphor and the Structure of Science," Philosophy of Science 51, no. 4 (1984): 595-615.

14 Emily Ayoob, "Black and Davidson on Metaphor," Macalester Journal of Philosophy 16, no.1 (2007): 56-64. 58-59. ¹⁵ This example is adapted from Rothbart, "The Semantics

of Metaphor and the Structure of Science."

¹⁶ Rothbart, "The Semantics of Metaphor and the Structure of Science," 611.

17 Ibid. 598-99.

¹⁸ Brown, Making Truth: Metaphor in Science, 19.

¹⁹ This is a slightly modified version of the semantic transfer theory found in Rothbart's, "The Semantics of Metaphor and the Structure of Science."

²⁰ Lakoff and Johnson, Philosophy in the Flesh: the embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought, 54.

Loving Self-Reflection: Paradigms

of Narcissism in 1 Ovid, Metamorphoses, A. D. Melville, trans. (Oxford: Oxford U.P. 1986), 3.415-438.

Ovid's Myth of Narcissus tells of the young man, Narcissus, whose beauty and egocentricity lead him to fall in love with his own reflection in a pool of water, eventually causing him to die of unfulfilled and unobtainable desire. This myth serves as the linguistic and ideological grounding for much of Sigmund Freud's (and, by extension, Jacques Lacan's) theory.

² Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism: An Introduction," The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud 24, no. 14 (London: Hogarth Press, 1953-1974). 73-102, 74,

³Wilkie Collins, The Woman in White (New York: Oxford U P. 1998), 40.

⁴ Ibid. 356.

⁵ Ibid. 41.

⁶Throughout this paper, I refer to sexual desire and "identity" in the same terms as Freud, only imagining "homosexuality" as a stable and definite "type," so as to more accurately parallel Freud's own articulation.

Freud, "On Narcissism: An Introduction," 88-91. 8 Ibid. 92-95.

⁹Collins, The Woman in White, 352.

10 Ibid. 49. 11 Ibid. 51.

12 Ibid. 50.

13 Ihid 52.

¹⁴ Dino Felluga, "Modules on Lacan: On Psychosexual Development," Introductory Guide to Critical Theory (Purdue U, 2008) http://www.purdue.edu/guidetotheory/psychoanalysis/lacandevelop.html

15 Sigmund Freud, The Uncanny (New York: Penguin Group, 2003), 124, 147, 155,

Reverting back to Freudian theory (which was responsible for inspiring much of Lacanian ideology) this paradox truly is uncanny. Freud's "uncanny is that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar" to us but has long since either been repressed or "surmounted" as because of its primitive designation. The emotion of the "uncanny," then, comes about when "repressed childhood complexes are revived by some impression" and force the individuals to face something undesirable vet entirely familiar. ¹⁶ Collins, The Woman in White, 51.

¹⁷ Felluga, "Modules on Lacan: On Psychosexual Develop-

18 Ibid. 66.

19 Ibid. 168. 20 Ibid. 180.

²¹ Ibid. 414. 22 Ihid 415

²³ Ibid. 414.

²⁴ Ibid. 415. 25 Ibid. 443.

²⁶ Ibid. 464.

²⁷ Ibid. 570. ²⁸ Ibid. 570.

²⁹ Ibid. 570.

30 Ibid. 422, emphasis mine.

³¹ *Ibid.* 643.

³² Jeffrey Berman, Narcissism and the Novel (New York: New York U.P. 1990), 36.

33 Ibid 36

This Freudian view of the artist is interestingly connected to Freud's view of the masturbator—an individual who lives out fantasies and derives pleasure through a repeated fetishization of the body or bodily extensions (i.e. the creative work produced). In a strange way then, Freud's theory of the artist is basically an extension of his theory of the masturbator and chains the artist—along with the woman and the homosexual—to the narcissistic apparatus that govern psychic structures.

A New Direction of War: The Ethnic War Waged by the Wehrmacht in Eastern Europe 1939-1942

¹Photo: http://www.ww2.pl/apps/?command=fotografie/ szczegoly&id=108&did=22

² Photo: http://www.holocaustsurvivors.org/data.show. php?di=record&da=photos&ke=76

"Crimes of the German Wehrmacht: Dimensions of a War of Annihilation 1941-1944," Hamburg Institute for Social Research. 6. http://www.verbrechen-der-wehrmacht.de/ pdf/vdw_en.pdf

4"Prisoner of War," pegasusarchive.com. http://www.pegasusarchive.org/pow/frames.htm

⁵ "Crimes of the German Wehrmacht: Dimensions of a War of Annihilation 1941-1944," 3.

⁶"Crimes of the German Wehrmacht: Dimensions of a War of Annihilation 1941-1944," 21.

⁷Photos: Bundesarchiv, Bild 146/72/26/43 and Belorussian State Archive for Film, Photo and Photo Documents, Dzerzhinsk, no. 0-133733

8 "Crimes of the German Wehrmacht: Dimensions of a War of Annihilation 1941-1944," 25.

⁹ Photos: Military Museum Belgrade, nos. 20835, 20849,

¹⁰ Stephen Fritz, Frontsoldaten (UP of Kentucky, 1995), 51.

11 "Crimes of the German Wehrmacht: Dimensions of a War of Annihilation 1941-1944," 10.

13 Photos: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

¹⁴ Wolfram Wette, The Wehrmacht (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 93-94.

15 Ibid. 94.

¹⁷ Johannes Steinhoff, Voices from the Third Reich: An Oral History (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 15.

¹⁹ Ibid. 38.

²⁰ Richard Evans, The Third Reich at War (New York: The Penguin Press, 2009), 492.

²¹ Steinhoff, Voices from the Third Reich: An Oral History, 130. ²² Wette, The Wehrmacht, 99.

²³ Ibid. 169.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 169.

²⁵ Ibid. 170-71.

²⁶ Fritz, Frontsoldaten, 60.

²⁷ Ibid. 60.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 52.

²⁹ Ibid. 52. 30 Ibid. 59.

31 Ibid. 52.

32 Wette, The Wehrmacht, 104-106,

33 Ibid. 106.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 142. 35 Ibid. 142.

36 Ibid. 2.

³⁷ "Crimes of the German Wehrmacht: Dimensions of a War of Annihilation 1941-1944," 10.

38 Photo: Belorussian State Archive for Film, Photo and Photo Documents, Dzerzhinsk, No. 0-133733

39 Manfred Messerschmidt, "The Wehrmacht and the Volksgemeinschaft." Journal of Contemporary History 18, no. 4 (1984): 719-744.

40 "Crimes of the German Wehrmacht: Dimensions of a War of Annihilation 1941-1944," 28.

On the Possibility of Style

Waiting for edited copy

Applied Post-Development Theory: Case Study of Enda Graf Sahel

¹Until I define development as it pertains to this paper, I use quotations to denote that I have generalized the term to include all forms and definitions of development theory that existed prior to the emergence of post-development theory.

² Sally Matthews, "Post Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa," Third World Ouarterly 25 (2004): 373-84.

³ Arturo Escobar, Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World (Princeton: Princeton UP,

⁴I consider it acceptable to make this statement about bettering the lives of people because, in essence, postdevelopment requires locals to identify problems and find solutions. Thus, the people's own recognition of the need for improvement in their community allows me to make the above claim about development in the most basic sense of the word.

⁵ Wolfgang Sachs, *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 1992), 1.

⁶ Matthews, "Post Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa," 374.

⁷ Sachs, The Development Dictionary, 5.

⁸ Serge Latouche, In the Wake of the Affluent Society: An Exploration of Post-development (London: Zed Books, 1993), 22. ⁹ Sachs, The Development Dictionary, 7.

¹⁰ Escobar, Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World, 4.

¹¹ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "After Post-Development," Third World Quarterly 21 (2000): 175-91. 8.

¹² Ibid. 15.

¹³ Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., The Anthropology of Development and Globalization (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 50.

¹⁴Ray Kiely, "The last refuge of the noble savage? A critical account of post-development," European Journal of Development Research 11, no. 1 (1995): 24.

¹⁵ Stuart Corbridge, "Beneath the payement only soil': the poverty of post-development," Journal of Development Studies (Frank Cass, 1998).

16 Kiely, "The last refuge of the noble savage? A critical account of post-development," 23.

¹⁷ Pieterse, "After Post-Development," 14.

18 Sally Matthews, "Post-development Politics and Practice," Rhodes University, www.codesria.org/Links/conferences/general_assembly11/.../matthews.pdf

¹⁹ Pieterse, "After Post-Development," 14.

²⁰ Matthews, "Post Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa," 377. ²¹ Ibid. 378.

²² Aram Ziai, "The Ambivalence of Post-Development," Third World Quarterly 25 (2004): 1045-060. 75. ²³ Matthews, "Post Development Theory and the Question

of Alternatives: A View from Africa," 374. ²⁴ L'organisation internationale Enda Tiers-Monde, http://www. enda.sn/english/index.htm

²⁶ Matthews, "Post-development Politics and Practice," 8. ²⁷ Matthews, "Post Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa," 376.

²⁸ Ibid. 381.

²⁹ EGS & RENAPOP, "The Positive Management of Conflicts in West Africa," Journal of Social Development in Africa 13 (1998): 29-35, 29.

30 Ibid. 30. 31 Ibid. 31.

32 Ibid. 34.

³³ Matthews, "Post-development Politics and Practice," 9.

³⁴ L'organisation internationale Enda Tiers-Monde.

35 Matthews, "Post-development Politics and Practice," 9

³⁷ *Ibid.* 11.

38 Ibid. 12. ³⁹ *Ibid.* 12.

40 Corbridge, "Beneath the pavement only soil': the poverty of post-development."

Fem-nomenology

¹Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenology of Perception (1945, trans. C. Smith, Routledge, 2006), xvii

² Iris Marion Young, "Throwing Like a Girl. A Phenomenology of Feminine Body, Comportment, Motility, and Spatiality," Human Studies, 3 (1980): 137-156.

Note that most texts refer to men only, either using "man" and "he" as either a universal pronoun or as the deliberate exclusion of women.

⁴Susan Bordo, Unbearable Weight (Berkeley: U of California P, 2003), 144-45.

⁵ *Ibid.* 143.

⁶ Alison Jaggar, "Feminism in ethics: Moral justification," The Cambridge Companion to Feminism in Philosophy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2000), 225-244. 234.

⁷I realize that Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology is complicated; therefore I will not be able to discuss it in depth here but will provide a brief discussion of the main points that are most relevant to feminism.

⁸ Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenology of Perception, 43.

⁹ Ibid. 136.

10 Ibid. 105.

11 Ibid. 130.

12 Ibid. 100. ¹³Young, "Throwing Like a Girl," 140.

15 Ibid. 139. 16 Ibid. 141.

17 Ibid. 145.

18 Ibid. 150. 19 Ibid. 148.

²⁰ Ibid. 142-144. ²¹ Dianne Chisholm, "Climbing Like A Girl: an Exemplary Adventure in Feminist Phenomenology," Hypatia (2008):

22 Ibid. 10. ²³ Ibid. 11.

²⁴ Ibid. 34.

²⁵ Young, "Throwing Like a Girl," 35.

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²⁷ See: Bordo, Unbearable Weight.

Jacob Lawrence: Mainstream Acceptance Rooted in Widespread Misunderstanding

¹Leslie King-Hammond, "Inside-Outside, Uptown-Downtown: Jacob Lawrence and the Aesthetic Ethos of the Harlem Working-Class Community," Over the Line: The Art and Life of Jacob Lawrence (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 79.

² Ellen Harkins Wheat, Jacob Lawrence: American Painter (Seattle: U of Washington P), 59.

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⁴Ellen Harkins Wheat, "Jacob Lawrence and the Legacy of Harlem," Archives of American Art Journal 26, no. 1 (1986):

5 Ibid. 20.

⁶Wheat, Jacob Lawrence: American Painter, 63.

7 Jacqueline Francis, "Review: The Make of the Modern," Callaloo 17, no. 4 (1994): 1270.

8 "Ernest Crichlow," Avisca Fine Art. http://www. aviscafineart.com/Other_Artists/Ernest_Crichlow/ernest crichlow.htm

9 King-Hammond, "Inside-Outside, Uptown-Downtown: Jacob Lawrence and the Aesthetic Ethos of the Harlem Working-Class Community," 77.

¹⁰ Michelle DuBois and Peter Nesbett, Jacob Lawrence: Paintings Drawings and Murals (1935-1999): A Catalogue Raisonné (Seattle: U of Washington P), 50.

¹¹ J.L., "The Negro Sympathetically Rendered by Lawrence," Art News 37, no. 21 (1939): 15. ¹²Lizzetta LeFalle-Collins, "The Critical context of Jacob

Lawrence's Early Works, 1938-1952," Over the Line: The Art and Life of Jacob Lawrence (Seattle: U of Washington P, 2000), 130.

13 Ibid. 131.

14 Claude Cernuschi, "The Politics of Abstract Expressionism," Archives of American Art Journal 39 no. 1/2 (1999):

15 LeFalle-Collins, "The Critical context of Jacob Lawrence's Early Works, 1938-1952," 133.

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The Immediate Society

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